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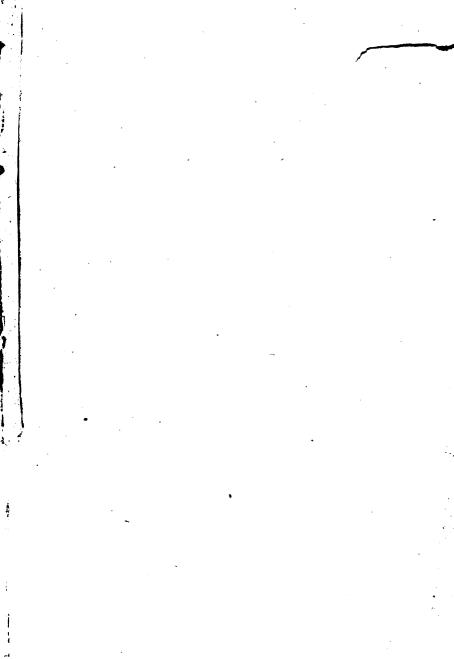
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GREATER AMERICA

HITS AND HINTS

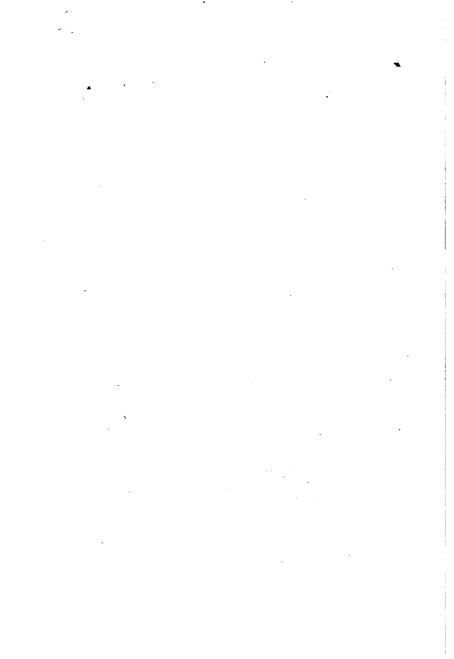


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GREATER AMERICA

HITS AND HINTS

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GREATER AMERICA.

I. THE CONVERSION OF A SKEPTIC.

ONCERNING their mental attitude toward the world social and political, men may be roughly divided into two classes. Some share with beasts a lucky disposition that makes them accept with content or passive resignation the state of things which they find. When their wants are satisfied, they can lie down and stare and ruminate—nothing being able to disturb the dull and fatty ease of their minds. Others are not so particularly blessed. Just as with the poets of yore, a horse-fly seems to nestle in their brains, and prick and goad them on and on, longing always for better things, impatient with the reality which falls too far short of their ideals, peaceless and restless ever. This difference of mental disposition may be partly brought about by education or surroundings; but it is chiefly a question of temperament. The latter can not help feeling hurt and discontented when their sense of justice and goodness is shocked, any more than the former can help being satisfied when their own individual wants are appeased. They are so just because

they are so, and can not understand each other any more than a donkey can keep pace with a thoroughbred.

In Europe, the majority of young men, especially of those who follow a college course, belong to the restless set. The long literary curriculum they have to go through, their education mainly theoretical and apart from the actual realities of life, their daily contact, at college, with a society where merit, knowledge and talent, rather than wealth and titles, are honored and revered,—every thing conspires to make of them thorough and convinced But, alas! as soon as the average young idealists. man leaves college and enters upon his professional career, which brings him continually into contact with things as they are, not with things as they should be, his idealism is liable to receive many severe shocks. For years and years he has heard and read that we live in an age particularly blessed, where personal worth is the basis of public esteem and reward, where human personality is at last released from the fetters of less happy centuries, where the peaceful and industrious pursuit of happiness is recognized as the right and aim of all lives. This he has continually heard and read; with these grand expectations he enters upon active life; but how soon, and how bitter the disillusion comes! So far from honor and influence being meted out to sterling personal worth, he is comalled to recognize that they are usually bestowed

in proportion with one's social position, or the titles that precede one's name, or the balls that surmount one's coat of arms, or the weight of one's purse. In a society which claims to rest on the utility and dignity of work, labor is pushed aside and looked down upon by the classes who live idly on ancestral hoard, or follow vocations more showy than useful. In the social catalogue, the inventor, the manufacturer, (not to speak of the workingman), the physician, the engineer, all fall in behind the well-trimmed, well-combed, wellbrushed lieutenant, who thus far has shown his martial ardour in making love to servant-girls, and gambling all night long. Whenever a distinction is made, the shiftless scion of a nobleman has the precedence before the honest toilers who have worked their way upward, laboriously and usefully. Speak of men's rights, and individual worth, and common brotherhood! In reality, from the upper tendom down to the poorest, however worthy they may be, there is a universal looking down and ostracising.

Still this becomes a lesser evil, when compared with the relations prevailing between state and state. Here indeed we find the same old rule: "Homo homini lupus," man is a wolf to man. Never perhaps have the international relations in Europe been more wretched than they are nowadays. The most unreasonable hatred between neighboring nations is still deeply

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rooted in the hearts of almost all the peoples. The Austrians hate the Russians, the Russians hate the Germans, the Germans hate the French, the French seem to hate every body just now. If there ever was any hope for reasonable, human relations between the European peoples, all hope had to be given up after the disgraceful war of 1870. Meanwhile all Europe is turned into a continuous barrack where the population is condemned to consume unprofitably, wearily, angrily, some of its best years. Meanwhile the very bread is taken from the famishing toiler to keep up a preparation for war, in many respects worse than war itself. Meanwhile impositions increase from year to year, and public debts have grown to such an extent that nobody knows how our children and grandchildren will be able to stand the burden.*

Thus ignorance and prejudice, greed and ambition, foster hatred and keep up standing armies. These join hands with war on one side, and misery on the other. Misery feeds ignorance and preju-

^{*}If the Americans are wise and with prudent administration keep themselves free from debt, the time is not far off when European agriculture and industry will not be able to stand American competition for the simple fact that taxes will be ten times as great there as in America. This state of affairs would even have arrived already, as far as many branches of industry are concerned, but for the fact that, luckily for the European manfuacturer, the Americans have handicapped themselves with what they call "protective" tariff.

dice, which father hatred and war. Thus, pressed within a fatal ring of curses, Europe labors, sweats and pants. But the struggle seems only to rivet the iron deeper into her flesh.

For all that, if any body dares call attention to the causes of this distress, or proclaim that the present silly, narrow-minded patriotism should be done away with, and the enormous standing armies which suck the very life out of the people should be dispersed; and one must cease to consider the welfare of a nation as a damage to its neighbor; and, if not sound Christian love, at least some good sense must be brought into the settling of international affairs—he is laughed at as a fool by a unanimous public, or at least pitied as a visionary, a dreamer, a sentimental crank.

How does our idealistic young man, fresh from college, fare in face of such a reality? He does not fare very well, as a rule, and this is what generally happens.

His first impulse, perhaps, would be to try to bring about a renovation ab imis fundamentis of the entire social building. Let destruction come and dynamite work its deadly work; in all probability out of the ruins a better world will come. Novus ab integro sectorum nascitur ordo. The spirit of anarchy, so powerful in some regions of Europe, is a natural and logical sequence to the state of things there. Long, unjust oppression and wretched misery, just as oppressive heat and

sultry weather, are apt to drive men into paroxysms of insanity.

From such reckless and hideous policy, however, our young man-unless he is a Russian-is generally saved by his education and good sense; nay, even by some moral cowardice. When this first period of exalted indignation has been overcome he stares more quietly, more critically, at the mighty problem that faces him. He tries, perhaps, to do something for the realization of his noble ideals, but soon he feels his isolation and impotence. All around him seems to move in iron ruts, and his strength is so small for the aim that his efforts are simply ludicrous. He thinks of the fly that pretended to push the wheel; almost he feels ashamed, humiliated at having entertained such ideals; he reproaches himself with childishness and Quixotism. "Well, let the world go its way! no use to try to push the rivers backward." Thus he lets go of his ideals and sets out to make a berth for himself. Thus when his life begins, his ideals are dead. If he is above the average, he will perhaps devote himself to a literary, artistic or scientific pursuit; otherwise, to some. money-making enterprise. At forty he may be a prosperous business man, a distinguished artist. or scientist, but in all cases his social ideals, his truly generous and human aspirations are dead and buried. He is thoroughly convinced that society is bad, has always been, and always will be bad. No

use to try to set dogs' legs straight. Homo homini lupus. Be strong if you will be right. In this boasted age of enlightenment, he is more skeptical and cynical, as far as social and political matters are concerned, than a courtier of the Lower Empire. This, to speak plainly, is the standing, in political and social matters, of nine-tenths of the educated and well-to-do classes in Europe. And I must confess my feet were moving in that direction when I came to America. If, as it is practically accepted in Europe, war is the natural state of society, and nations have no greater mission to accomplish than to destroy each other, what is the use of dreaming about the brotherhood of men and the probability of better times? cui bono? Let the rivers flow downward and the world go its wav.

But after having been some time in America, and having inhaled some of the spirit of American life, a new current of hopes seemed to enter my heart and the horizon, before so dark and close, was rent by a cheering ray. No native American can understand the impression that a European receives by the sight of these two scores of States living peaceably one beside the other, vying with each other not in the display of soldiers and machines of war, but in the development of their wonderful opportunities. Nor can one in Europe, through books and papers, gather a true idea of the spirit of America's national life. One

must come here and see and live this life in order to appreciate and understand it. That which in Europe is still laughed at as the Utopia of cranks and visionaries, is here at last: here we realize it every day, and every day we enjoy its bounty and blessing. What are the Niagara Falls in comparison therewith? What are the Alps? What the boundless seas that circle the world? The sun has never looked on a grander spectacle. Although the work of man, it is so great that it seems to assume the appearance of a work of nature, so that we get accustomed to it as to a natural thing, and admiration grows dormant unless it is excited by reflection; just as he who has been brought up among the mountains, fails to realize the wonderful beauty of his surroundings. deed it takes a great and almost painful effort of our minds to grasp at once the achievements and the boundless possibilities of this American civilization. Who can tell what shall have become of this continent within two hundred years—a short space in the history of man-when hundreds of millions of men shall live in it peacefully and industriously, united by a bond of common citizenship and brotherhood? when every corner of this boundless land shall be the seat of a home and every field shall be tilled, and every water plowed by steam, and every mind beautified by culture?

The question which immediately arose in my

mind and ever afterward has kept putting itself before me, is: "If this has been possible in this part of the world, why should it not be possible elsewhere?" for, after all, men are men all over the world, and what men have done, others can do if only they set their hearts on it.

This has opened again the spring of hope within me. For this I am indebted to America, and my gratitude will not cease until my life ceases. America alone has destroyed in me one of the worst kinds of skepticism—the skepticism as to the future of society and civilization. America has given back to me my best hopes, nay, my very self.

The relations of the States of North America to each other, compared with the relations between. European States, are the same as the relations between gentlemen, compared with those between peasants or uneducated people. The former settle their differences by talking together respectfully and calmly, or, at last, by resorting to the advice of counsel or the judgment of law. (It is true that once a slip was made in this matter by the American States, but it was dearly paid for, and there is all probability that it will never be repeated). The latter can not settle a paltry contestation about a cow or her milk without coming to blows. But is there no hope that these peasants, or at least their children or grandchildren will be educated enough to imitate the example of

those gentlemen? So let us hope that hard experience at least will force Europe into following America's steps.

My admiration is not so indiscriminating, when from the relations of the States to one another I turn to other sides of American public life. This is not without flaws indeed, which may even cause reasonable alarms. But on the whole, such an unlimited freedom of speech and press, such a delightful absence of red-tape and monkeyish formalities, such a respect for human personality, whether at the top or at the bottom of the social ladder, such a respect for those who work and such a contempt for the idle, such a generous impulsiveness, no other nation can boast of. once heard people laughing at an American millionaire who expected his guests (some noblemen from Europe) to black their own boots, as his servants were not accustomed to do such services. Perhaps that rude millionaire was nobler and gentler than his guests, with all their blazonry, and those who laughed at him. He had a respect for human personality even in the humblest position, even in his servants, and this respect is the first characteristic of the "gentleman." And while we are on this subject, if I say that no other nation's social circumstances are so fit to breed true gentlemen as America, I know I shall be denounced by not a few, but I know also that I say what is true. It has been said that a phi-

losopher is "the man who stands right in the middle of the universe; who brings down to him the highest things, and up to him the lowest" (Sartor Resartus). The true gentleman is in the social world, that which the philosopher is in the intellectual; he must be level with the highest and with the lowest; he must respect human worthiness whatever its external apparel or circumstances; he must have self-respect enough not to toady to any body because of any body's social position, and must be noble enough not to slight any body because of his poverty or humble-Is it not true, then, that no nation affords such opportunities for the development of true "gentlemanhood" as America does? The social arrangement of Europe is such as to seem made purposely to compel toadying and cringing on one side, and to foster peacock vanity and presumptuousness on the other.

The same may be said of the relations between man and woman. I have no intention to belittle the feelings of honor, tenderness and chivalrousness that frequently preside over the relations of man to woman in Europe not less than in America. It is, nevertheless, true that in almost all parts of Europe a man, especially if he has rank or money, can deal with women in the most dishonorable way, and still be considered a gentleman. Every man can play with the heart of a girl, rob her of

her honor, leave her a dishonored mother, without either penalty of law or public contempt visiting him. Public opinion seems to be entirely indifferent on this matter, and, if it blames any body, it blames the victim. That things are not so in America, every body knows.

To sum up, there are in American civilization so many sterling qualities that we must not doubt a glorious future to be in store for it. As for me, I am glad to repeat that to America alone I owe the resurrection of my social faith and hope. not know whether greater praise of a country can be uttered. With the renewal of hope came along a renewal of persistent studies and observations in the social world around us, beginning with the nearest one-with America herself. The following pages are the fruit of such observations. I may sometimes appear harsh and overfond of growling, I offer no apology. Never was a study. undertaken with greater candor and more genuine love for this country. We owe it to those that we love to put no limit to our sincerity and frankness. My criticisms arise wholly and only out of my love for this country, and a vehement desire to see her advance, ever great, ever free from those evils which hamper and fetter and prey upon my own dear country and my old Europe. If one should ask, "What authority have you for speaking thus and criticising and suggesting?" other, I would say, than this-not an unimportant

one, however—" one who for years has seen and suffered from the evils that beset old Europe, is likely to be ever on the lookout and to detect them even when only the first symptoms appear."

II. THE CONVERT TURNS A CRITIC.

THE main, central question about America is whether this will truly be a new and better world for man to live in, or simply a repetition, a second edition of the old world. If we take into account America's opportunities, to be a mere copy of Europe would be a gigantic failure. From this point of view American civilization must be judged; therefore, our judgment must be rather severe, and many flaws must be pointed out which elsewhere might pass unnoticed. Americans themselves seem sometimes to forget that either their civilization must come up to this high standard, or must be doomed. (To point out one single instance: not long ago, when the Pall Mall Gazette startled the world with its revelations about certain sinister sides of London life, it was a painful surprise to read in American newspapers: "After all, if we could take away the roofs of New York, or of any other great city, we should witness the same things." Indeed? so great then has been your progress that, after less than one century of national existence you think you can compete in such abominations with



decrepit Europe? Faith, I do not believe it. But, should this be at all true, remember that it would be far more disgraceful here, amid a young and budding civilization, than there, where such customs are said to thrive).

The first characteristic, which strikes the observer of American life, is the universal, feverish rush for money. Whatever else may be disputed, this is such a prominent feature of American life, that Americans themselves are the first to acknowledge it—as a rule, with self-satisfaction. however, let us add, rather than with compunction. Take the average American, shake him up, hang him by his feet, knock him on his head or on his stomach; you will not find many aspirations, impulses or desires which some how or other do not center around the "almighty." One day I was standing on a sidewalk in Union Square, and from the passers-by, women and men, engaged in conversation, I overheard, in close succession, the following words: cents;" "cheap;" "six percent.;" "ten thousand a year:" "bankrupt:" "Wall street:" "worth a million:" "immense business."

This rage for wealth is doubtless a cause of great and intense activity, but it portends at the same time greater evils than many would fain acknowledge. It has been remarked that that is the best and most lasting civilization, which is animated and shaped by several ideals or princi-

ples. The civilization which rests only on one idea has less chances for development and growth. When the ideal of Roman life, which was mainly military conquest, was carried to its utmost application, no other principle remained to animate the body of that Colossus, and Rome died. death of Greece was also the consequence of the death of her national ideal. Where we have several different principles, they check and co-operate with each other: their various threads run so together and intermingle that when one seems to give way, another grows in strength, and the river of life, so to say, which flows from several springs, changes direction or color, but never dries up. In this connection, A. D. White makes the sad remark that, while in the greatest European nations life is developed according to different ideal principles which promise a rich growth of civilization, the life of the North American Republic is overwhelmingly, if not absolutely, swayed by one principle alone, which he calls "mercantilism." In fact it can hardly be said that other principles, like the pursuit of science, artistic tendencies, military or religious movements, have any considerable strength in these States in comparison with the principle named. This absolute prevalence of one principle gives to national life a uniformity of aspirations which is not conducive to happiness nor to greatness. Greatness, like nature, is manifold.

One of the most obvious consequences of this immoderate devotion to wealth is the growing tendency to display, to extravagance and fast living. It is not necessary to insist on this characteristic of American life, especially in the great cities. Bad enough, this, in itself, to be sure; but the worse when we consider that it is not only an evil, but a symptom and a tendency; not a pond of stagnant water which, however harmful, will soon dry up and disappear, but a mighty river which seems constantly to increase in width and strength. Whatever old-fashioned and narrowminded political economists may think of luxurious habits and lavish expenditures by the rich, no sane man will fail to recognize that these habits lower the taste of society, drive culture out of the foremost place, make the social atmosphere coarse and vulgar, and wantonly prick the already too smarting wounds that make the honest toiler knit his brows and set his teeth.

Indeed, the contrast between rich and poor in this young nation is already such that this alone should induce the wealthy to be careful not to indulge in a display which can not but be offensive. Wherever I go, through the streets where gold is rolling, beside the splendid and liveried equipages, I see poor children barefooted, bareheaded, half clothed, shirtless in summer and winter; poor boys and girls in whose meagre frame and weary look you can read plainly the story of

daily suffering and privation; poor slaves of misery and ignorance in this land of the free! Let us be frank: he is a soulless creature, he is not a good citizen, he does not do his duty to society, who, in face of so great a misery, can bear to throw away a thousand dollars on flowers for a party, or order a silver coffin for his puppy.

Aside from economical considerations, the existence side by side of immoderate wealth and wretched poverty, breeds the most fatal consequences both for rich and poor. It has always been so since the beginning of the world, and Americans must not pretend to be of entirely different stuff from other men. As a tropical climate breeds snakes, so does wealth breed vice, and misery feeds it.

Nor is it necessary to have Diogenes' lantern to find that this baleful contrast has begun to bring its natural consequences—corruption of customs, debasement of ideals. A great deal is said about the perversity of Paris. Paris may be a wicked city; but how does New York fare in this respect? How many trains will be wrecked and how many cranks will have jumped from the East River Bridge before New York has outstripped Paris? To be sure, Paris has bad places, dives, gambling-houses and brothels, but New York can scarcely complain of dearth of this drug. It is true, though, that as virtue has its own reward, the people who frequent such places in New York are

almost sure to be robbed or stabbed, and clubbed by the police into the bargain. Paris has bad books, bad novels, bad papers; but look, pray, at some illustrated papers which are printed in New York by the hundred thousands, and tell me in what they are unlike the most pornographic productions of the world, save in their own particularly abominable violation of all artistic taste? As we are speaking of papers, one must admire, indeed, the skill, the courage, and the alertness of the American press; but with this dreadful race for popularity and money, how many dailies are there still in New York that a self-respecting man can read to his family? When they have shaken all the dirty linen of the country, flavoring it perchance with some drops from the sewers, then they turn with the air of him who has conquered the world: "See what an immense circulation we have!" It is painful to see worthy and respectable newspapers stoop down to wrestle with such miserable matches and contend that they have a greater circulation. God bless you! So did once a saloon keeper brag that he had more business and made more money than his neighbor, the minister.

Another effect of the predominance of this mercantile spirit is the funny inability in the average American to measure the worth of any thing except by money. What one thing costs, or what it brings, this seems to be the only criterion by which he judges of art, science and

life. Hence that common designation by 'success' of every thing that sells well, whether it is a painting, or a new fashion of suspenders, and by 'failure' of that which does not sell. Hence that tendency to confine one's self, in study and education to what is 'practical,' and to laugh at as useless, or at the best, tolerate as innocuous every study which has a merely ideal and spiritual value. This is, indeed, a great blunder. We must remember that theoretical and abstract speculations are the seed from which alone practical applications can grow. The most wonderful inventions of this century, the astonishing improvements which seem to change the aspect of life all around us, would never have been called out from nothingness but for the abstract, solitary, and, to the eyes of the vulgar, sterile speculations of some savant, who perhaps died some centuries ago forgotten and misunderstood. Although it seems almost paradoxical, it is the most abstract and speculative studies that tell the most on human life. No study, apparently more remote from daily life than the old contestations about the fixity or mutability of species. Still never perhaps a scientific speculation was fruitful of more important results. When the storm was brooding from which the French revolution broke forth, Geoffroy St. Hilaire and other savants were discussing that theory in the Jardin des Plantes, in Paris, and Goëthe remarked:

"Whatever the results of the French Parliament may be, the question which is now being ventilated in the Jardin des Plantes, is more important for the world." It sounds like a whimsicality of a conceited savant, but it is one of the greatest proofs of Goëthe's broadness of mind and deep intuition. For, from those studies the theory of evolution was brought forth as a legitimate child; a theory which, however received, is revolutionizing the world, is modifying our ideas of history, of law, of physical, moral and social sciences, and tells every day more deeply on our conceptions of religion, life, man and God.

No great civilization can be built on merely material and industrial pursuits, as there can be no great army entirely made up of soldiers without captain and leaders. Still, notwithstanding all the opportunities which talent and wealth can give, I do not know of any high branch of theoretical study where America leads the world. all such studies, in philosophy as well as in philology, in mathematics as well as in sociology, in painting as well as in sculpture, to say nothing of music, America, as a nation, is at the tail of the civilized world. Some ascribe this scarce activity in the highest intellectual branches to the democratic institutions of the country. But this is, I think, a gratuitous slander to democracy. The glorious Italian Republic of the middle ages, were, on the whole, as thoroughly democratic as

America is. Still, at the same time that they developed their commerce, navigation, trade and wealth, they were able to produce those wonderful masterpieces in painting, sculpture, architecture and literature, which still astound the world. Nor does that seem to me a sufficient explanation which many would find in the youth of the country. After a century and a half of continuously prosperous development, with the benefit of a centennial culture behind, we are perhaps laying too great a stress on this national youth. Were it even so, how are we to explain that, instead of proceeding on and on toward that higher aim, the country seems, in this respect at least, to lag behind more and more? Certainly the American boy of to-day has no living greatness to look up to that can compare with Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Webster and the other worthies, who shone before the youthful eyes of his father.

"It is the war," some say; "the war that has interrupted this course toward the ideal." But we must be just, even with war. A great war, horrible as it is, still has its great and earnest qualities, especially when it is waged for a right cause. Men, taken away from their humdrum daily pursuits, brought suddenly face to face with death, come to perceive what is really worthy in human life, and how far virtue, valor and fearless manliness are superior to wealth, comfort and money-making. Add the wholesome lesson of

daily privations and sacrifices, add the emulation awakened by noble deeds, the tragic pathos and tender admiration of generous deaths, and none must wonder if a great war is very often followed by a period of greater activity and higher pursuits. The history of Greece, Rome, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, in fact the history of all nations is witness to this fact. Yet it is hardly possible to say that the great American war has brought about any thing of this kind. Even the great impulses, the earnest stimulus of war deeds and records, seem to have been obliterated by that spirit of mercantilism which crushes all other principles out of existence.

This same principle is also the main cause of the growing indifference on the part of the "respectable" classes to the political life of their country. It is noteworthy that in Europe, public life—outside of international relations, which are unworthy of a civilized age—is higher in tone and aspirations than private life. Not seldom even men who are bad husbands, poor companions and friends, prove to be honest and wise administrators, aldermen, trustees. At all events, the most distinguished men in science, business or literature, are proud to take a share in the affairs of their town or village. In America, on the contrary, every capable man is so engrossed in his own business, that the management of cities and towns has been left to whoever is willing to take it. Consequently, things have come to such a pass that the best people seem particularly anxious to have nothing to do either with political things or public men. The contempt which attaches to the word "politician" is a thing entirely American. The results are such as we read of every day. know of no city in Europe where money, extorted from the people, is so lavishly, so recklessly spent as in New York. I know of no other city where the tone of public life is so low, so mean, so vulgar, so dishonest. I know of no other city where property is more at the mercy of thieves, political and otherwise: where life is more liable to be wantonly injured by the police, and by others. evening every New Yorker who reaches his home safely, should humbly kneel down and thank his good star that no policeman was on his way.

It was a custom with the rulers of old to strike coins to commemorate some important epoch or deed. Brutus, for instance, as soon as he had knocked down Julius Cæsar, struck a fine gold coin bearing a likeness of Liberty on one side and a dagger on the other. Should the city of New York ever be allowed to strike her own coins, she should engrave on one side of her dollars a full beaker of lager, and on the other a helmet resting on two clubs. This would likely be a puzzle to the archæologists of the time to come, but to our contemporaries it would be as clear as midday light.

III. IDEALISM AND POLITICS.

THE spirit of mercantilism, which is so prominent in American life, is allied with another feature—want of idealism. It is in the nature of things that mercantilism and idealism must ever The latter compels men to sacrifice things to ideas, the present to the future, interests to feelings; the former is thoroughly matter-of-fact, strikes at the present, snatches at interests, laughs at ideas and feelings. Whenever mercantilism predominates, we must not expect to see the public or private life of the people guided and exalted by great ideals. Even where great national ideals exist in the hearts of a people. they are necessarily weakened, bedimmed or distorted by an exclusive devotion to money-making pursuits. Nowhere, perhaps, this can be so clearly seen as in the foreign policy of these United States.

The United states, rich and independent, with a vast continent to themselves, and great strength in men and money, are surrounded by nations, who, by blind and ceaseless strife, ruin themselves and reduce to naught the resources of the richest soils and climes. No State in the world has ever had so great opportunities to assist

neighboring nations in the peaceful pursuit of civilization and liberty; no people has ever failed to do this as the United States have failed. They were not asked to take arms for this or that party; they were not even asked to send money. The moral support of their government, of their people and their churches; this and nothing else was required. But even this has been denied. Entrenching themselves behind a narrow-minded interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, they practically shut themselves out of all moral intercourse with other nations, and said: "Each for himself." Only one plan was conceived in these last years, broad-minded and really statesman-like-Mr. Blaine's scheme of an American Congress in order to use some of the moral weight of the United States for the purpose of helping those much afflicted countries to a peaceful and reasonable solution of their difficulties. Had that scheme been successfuly carried through, in the course of fifty years all America would have reaped advantages greater perhaps than we can imagine. But the scheme was laid aside under the pretext that the men appointed to execute it were not fairminded. Were it even so, what of that? I never heard before that an undertaking must be abandoned because some of the employees have been found to be unfit or faithless.

The fact is that very few, even among the public men of the United States, perceive the real

meaning, the real position of this continent in the history of the world. It seems that they are satisfied that they have reached the acme of statesmanship, if they can make of this people a fat calf; any thing else, in their judgment, is food for dreamers and hysterical visionaries.

Still, the mission of this people is something greater than that to which their politicians intend to narrow their aspirations! The world is full of war and oppression of all forms and international knavery. If there is a nation that could say a good word and use some moral influence in order to avoid a war, to settle a domestic strife, to relieve an oppressed nation, without having its advice suspected as born of selfishness, that nation is the United States. It is not the least blessing, with States as well as with individuals, to be shielded by one's own condition from those appearances of fault and selfishness, which sometimes are an insuperable obstacle in the way of others, who are well intentioned, but not so particularly blessed. By the eternal tide of civilization the world is fast becoming so united that no people can look with indifference at what is going on in the house of its neighbors. Surely we approach an era of interdependence of nations which will be far superior to our theories of independence. Surely international relations will before long assume a more civilized aspect and give way to a broader, more Christian, more human patriotism.

No nation, by the opportunity of its location, by the form of its government, by the very nature of its people, consisting as it does of many races from many lands, no nation, I say, is so fit as the United States to lead the world in this great march toward the new international civilization.

No gift is given to man or nation without a serious responsibility. The happier the man the more particularly blessed the nation, the greater are their obligations to their fellow men and peoples. All over the world there works a law, not very easy to perceive, perhaps, but not the less forcible and effective, the law of reciprocity: "One gets what he gives." One can not, in the long run, always take without giving. He who tries to get more than he gives, may apparently succeed, but he shall pay for it either morally or materially. He who in his dealings with his fellow men always seeks to take the most and give the least, is mean, and his punishment, if nowhere else, is in his very meanness. This law which governs the relations of individuals, is not less strong in the relations of States; and its effects are being felt the more as we advance in the path of civilization.

As a matter of fact, how did the professedly selfish, "it-is-none-of-my-business" international policy of the United States affect them? Did it bring rewards of wisdom as they expected, or have they been punished for it? If we only consider

a few facts, the answer can not be doubtful. the first place we must remember that it is wrong policy to regard the harms and mishaps of our neighbors as an advantage to us. In fact no misfortune happens to them but it rebounds, more or less directly, on ourselves. If all Central and South America had settled down to a peaceful, industrious development of their resources [to which end the United States might have helped them a good deal], who can say what an enormous amount of wealth would have been developed by this time in those peculiarly resourceful lands? and do you think that all the world would have been benefited by that wealth, save their neighbors and friends, the United States of North America?

Another more direct consequence of this public selfishness and want of ideality is the debasement of the political life of the United States. Even there where foreign policy has nothing to do, the constant violation of one of their foremost duties as a great nation, could not have different results. A man who does not fulfill an important duty, feels that his life is being toned down, more or less according to the gravity of his offense. Imagine a rich man who lives among poor people, ignorant and therefore disunited and hating each other. He can wrap himself in his own selfishness and enjoy his earthly goods without even so much as noticing the misery that surrounds him. But do

you think he can do this for a long time without his own nature becoming crippled, narrow and mean? Would he not miss that beautiful and noble expansion of soul and life, which Charity would surely give him if he would, even with some personal risk or disturbance, go to the help of his weaker neighbors? The same thing is to be said of a family, a church, a State. We are so made that the fulfillment of a moral obligation is a help to rise higher, its violation is a step downward. If the United States had always kept before their eyes their noble mission among nations which looks providential, then this great aim would have kindled with noble enthusiasm all their public life, and would have drawn to it every thing that is generous and pure. Since, however, from this their natural charter they have erased the words which command them to be careful of their neighbors, of their fellow-peoples, as well as of themselves, and instead have written thereon "money, money," the life of the nation was stricken in one of its vital parts. Instead of a grand mission, we have had a shop. The general tone of public life was debased, and many among the best citizens began to keep aloof and look at the affairs of their own nation just as the people had looked at the affairs of the neighboring states, and said: "It's none of our business." For such is men's nature : if you raise a flag which represents their highest aspirations, or even opens to them new moral horizons, they will flock around you and follow you at the cost of the greatest sacrifices—witness the last war. Talk to them of business, of any thing that is not superior to their material interest, and they will not follow you one step further than their material interest allows them.

This debasement of public life is a severe enough penalty for that disregard of duty which we are considering. Still it is not the only one. There are others also which, by their own nature. are more distinctly felt by every body. For the baleful "protective" tariff of the United States is but a direct offspring of the selfish policy which considers the United States as bound by no moral, or social, or political tie to any nation on earth; as if we could, by an article in our platforms, snap asunder that bond of interdependence which binds man to man, people to people, age to age. Without such a political theory, it would never have been possible to dream of hitching the people of the United States under the millstone of our tariff.

I am not writing a treatise on political economy; therefore I shall not try to demonstrate how protectionism is condemned both by theory and experience. I refer my readers to what has been written on the subject by so many, of late. But more especially should they read the masterly work of H. George: "Protection or Free Trade?"

As an economical monograph, nothing that I know of can compare with it.

But I will even go so far as to suppose that we could find out some theoretical reason for protective policy; then, practice would still be against it. Because, if we want to compile a protective tariff, no less than a superhuman strength of mind is required to grasp at once all the multifarious, ever-varying branches of human activity, especially in a country like this, and to devise such a tariff as to protect all of them in the same measure and degree. It is necessary to know to the least details the state and possibilities of each industry, not only in this country but in every corner of the world, so as to find out the relative degree of strength of the national and the foreign industry; because on this relative degree of strength the degree of protection must be based. It would require the fair-mindedness of a saint not to be tempted to raise or lower one point the scales of tariff in favor of this or that industry; -- and we must not forget that in this wonderful protective machine any favor done to any industry is a disadvantage to another, which means money taken or stolen from some firms and given to others. Finally, it would require not less than a divine omniscience and omnipresence to see that the tariff is constantly in keeping with the endless changes, improvements and alterations which every day, every hour, are being introduced into the industrial and commercial world. Now, I have the greatest respect for the members of Congress of both houses and both parties; but I do not know whether all of them are superhuman, sainted, omniscient and omnipresent.

Granting even that such a miraculous tariff could be obtained, another thing would still be required. In its enforcement not only there must be no partiality or corruption, but even the least suspicion of partiality must be removed. Commerce is timid; honest commerce, at least, wants plain facts and figures. If it has to deal with hidden chances, it perishes or becomes gambling. As things are now, we do not know how many people are driven away from business, and how many more are prevented from entering business by the suspicion that their competitors may be able to get their goods out of the Custom House cheaper than they.

If, notwithstanding all this, we find men singing hymns to the protective tariff and referring to it the prosperity of the United States, we must remember that men's ways of reasoning are manifold, just as the shapes of their noses.

The fact is, however, that the United States have ignored the spirit of our civilization; they have ignored the mighty impulse that urges nations toward nations; they, the most advanced republic of the age, have set an awful example for other peoples; they have tried to raise a Chinese

wall and shut themselves from the world, and they have reaped the usual reward of selfishness and silliness; they stumble under the burden of their sin and eat the bread of repentance.

It is the same policy, with the same result, as they adopted in the matter of literary copyrights. They have refused to join an international recognition of the rights of intellectual work, and have made themselves ridiculous with their twenty-five per cent. duty on works of art. Who was benefited by such policy? Perhaps some pirates who are glad to live on robbery. But who would not admit that the intellectual production, nay, even the publishing business of the nation has been greatly damaged? Again, then, the result of selfishness has fallen upon the heads of the selfish.

Some go so far as to concede that the protective tariff is wrong and has proved a failure. But we must go one step more backwards, and inquire why such policy has been adopted. The cause which made protectionism possible and acceptable, is the same one to which we owe the narrow-mindednes of the foreign policy of the United States, and the indifference with which thousands of American citizens view their public duties. It is that combination of mercantilism and lack of idealism which first prompted the nation to say: "Let us mind our business and nothing else; our mission is to take care of ourselves," and then induced thousands of citizens to say in their turn:

"Let us mind our own business; the welfare of our neighbors, of our cities, is none of ours." Of course, from such maxims we could not expect consequences different from those which we see; a paralytic policy abroad, misrule at home. The politics, internal and foreign, of this great republic will never be worthy of the nation until it is inspired with a great spirit of altruism, which is, after all, the true measure of civilization with individuals as well as with States. Altruism implies a certain ideality of character and aspirations which can not be breathed into the politics of a nation, if it does not first pervade our daily life, our culture, our religion. This is the problem. which from several points of view, is considered in the pages that follow.

IV. CHURCH AND RELIGION—HIGH CULTURE—WOMAN'S INFLUENCE.

THERE is no doubt that the Church is losing I its hold upon the minds of the people. New churches may be built every day and church membership may grow; but fine churches and large congregations do not mean deep and fervid religious feeling. Take at random ten or twelve families with whom you are intimately acquainted. and ask yourselves which were most religious, the grandfathers, the fathers or the children? The answer can not be doubtful. At all events the United States can not pretend to be exempt from the course that things have taken all over the world. The modern mind, under the influence of science and civilization, has outgrown many old beliefs. How many dogmas were religiously believed by our grandfathers, at which nowadays even children smile! Everywhere the Church is brushed aside and the University takes its place. They, the great Universities, not the Church, are the true spiritual light-houses of the modern world. Alas! The great army of Science is pushing onward and onward, and the

beautiful spires of the old cathedrals tremble and shake. The Church might as well heed the lesson and provide. Since its intellectual hold upon the people is loosening, it should accept the advice of some of its great members and try to grasp the people by their hearts and feelings. Since faith is vanishing, let charity and hope take the place which belongs to them. Let the Church become the center, the heart of every good movement, so that every man who will do some good will turn to it for light and help. Let the Church be bold in advocating the cause of justice, in spiritual as well as in material affairs; yes, even against its rich members and patrons. Let us be frank; if the Church had always done its duty, if it had always spoken and acted against prevailing injustice, if it had not sinfully winked at worldly success, the world would be to day far-oh, how far! -better off.

It should be remembered that religion and religious feeling is far more important than the Church itself. More harm is done to true religion by selfish, narrow-minded clergy and congregations than by scores of scientists together, who in their very unselfish pursuit of truth show their religiosity. Yes, some of the worst offenders against religion are among the clergy itself. Some know of fearful injustices which are being perpetrated in their parishes, and say not a word; they pocket their salary, and "good-night." If some

of that money comes from gamblers, what does it matter? Did they not pay for their pews? Others are especially remarkable for their phenomenal ignorance, combined with and supported by an astounding cheek. Not a few will think now of a great, perhaps the greatest specimen of this kind of clergymen. At least once a week he jumps on his platform, shouts, kicks, unpacks the most tremendous stories, turns himself into a monkey, his church into a circus-all for the glory of God and religion! And his congregation increases every year. This does not astonish me much. More than once have I seen thousands of people gazing and clapping their hands at an ass or a clown in a show. What rather puzzles me is to see able and bright newspapers publish the sermons of this mountebank, sometimes even before those of respectable, learned and good clergymen of the city.

Above all, let the Church grow more and more conscious of the great wretchedness, misery and ignorance that surge like a damless sea around its fine buildings; and of the groans and wailings of destitute women and children which seem to answer the melodious strains of its organs. Here is a field for true, noble, endless work. "No religion, much less any church, is likely to make much way with the popular classes which does not place social reform among the most prominent and most important of the religious doc-

trines which is its mission to preach." [Stubbs, "Christ and Democracy," p. 58.]

Meanwhile as religion is losing its strength, and the wealth of the country and opportunities for good and evil increase, what shall the ideal of the people be? Bread and money can not satisfy man's heart, after all. Woe to the civilization that does not hold up some high ideals to its followers! Any such civilization is doomed. In fact, civilization consists truly of ideals and the opportunities to realize them. America should develop. even more than Europe, a high system of culture which tends to engender love of knowledge for itself, without much consideration for its money value; which makes us feel the true nobility of a life devoted to an unselfish pursuit of truth and beauty, mindless of the comforts which our artificial civilization creates. In common and secondary instruction, America and Europe should learn of each other. There it is too literary and theoretical, too much disconnected from the needs of daily life; here it is too practical and matter-offact, unfitting man for any thing but what is conducive to the acquisition of money. A great democratic nation needs a widely spread theoretical and literary, or, I will say, philosophical education, more than any other people. The great danger of democracy lies in the incapacity of the common, untrained mind to take in at once all the sides of a question. At times the uncultivated masses become frightened or excited by a fact which a few moments of unbiased meditation would divest of almost all its importance. A philosophical education has this great advantage, that it trains our minds to grasp all problems in their manifold conditions and aspects, and saves from narrow, hasty and fanatic conclusions. Another peculiar danger of democracy is to be seen in the fact that uncultivated people have no strong sense of the past or of the future; they aim at the present and they regard it as if it stood alone by itself, no link of cause and effect binding it with either the time that has gone or that which will come. A literary-philosophical education gives us a deep sense of the continuousness of history and life; it shows us in the present the child of the past and the parent of the future. This makes us willing to profit by the experience of the past, and clothes our actions with a strong feeling of responsibility for the consequences that will surely, perhaps irrevocably, follow. A greater intensification and diffusion of literary and philosophical culture would surely make American life safer, happier and richer, as it would also justly check the present omnipotent spirit of mercantilism.

If the pursuit of science and art for themselves has thus far yielded to the mercantile spirit, it is also due to the great part that women have in American life. If the American, more than the European life is so nervous, so full of restless and

misplaced ambition; if thousands of American families squander their money in extravagance and luxury, it is hardly possible to say that American women have no share or blame in this. Men style themselves the strong sex, but they are in great part what women make them. Their passions, their lives, are but the reflection of that greatest of all passions which urges on the world and ties man to woman. The maxim of the French judge, "cherchez la femme," does not apply only to criminal cases, but to the most of our life.

I do not intend to be harsh toward women, least of all to the lovely American women, nor to blaspheme against their supremacy. Individually, almost every man will own that there is not in the world a sweeter tyranny, and many a strong man would like to repeat for his own account the story of Hercules, who, after his great efforts, loved to sit at the feet of Omphale, obedient to her every whim. But in the highest spheres of life, I do not see that woman's supremacy is entirely beneficial. By their own nature, women are more of the world than men are. The very faculty of love, which is greater in them than in their masculine mates, makes them more attached to the individual in things and persons, and detaches them from the general, from the abstract, in whose company alone great thoughts walk. In their very successes, in the display of their gifts, they are more dependent on the resources of wealth, fine dresses, fine furniture, fine surroundings, whose acquisition takes away an immense amount of time and energy which otherwise might be devoted to the pursuit of more real, more worthy good. my special privilege to approach some of the greatest learned men of Europe; they received us, their students, in their rooms or studies, where there was plenty of light and air, but poor and scanty furniture; chairs and tables more comfortable than elegant, floors uncarpeted; the greatest ornament being the teacher himself, his genius, his flowing stream of eloquence and learning. woman, no American woman, could do the same thing. The more woman predominates in society, the more she claims for herself of its admiration, it is obvious that society must be the more devoted to the development and acquisition of those worldly goods which occupy so great a part in women's hearts. The development of the highest culture in America may be helped a great deal by women by curtailing those artificial needs which are continually adding new burdens to our lives and diminish our facilities for that spiritual life and development which only is worth living for.

v. THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE—FOOLISHNESS OF PROHIBITION—OTHER REMEDIES.

CHURCH, culture and woman's influence, in fact all the influence of society, should be brought into action to stamp out one of the greatest stains of American life-intemperance. For one who comes from a country where drunkenness is almost a thing unknown, it is nearly impossible to say what impression he receives when he looks at the immense array of saloons that line the cities and villages of the United States, and thinks of the amount of poison, moral and physical debasement, which is sold therein and paid for in cash. Indeed, the loss of money, however great, dwindles almost to nothing when we think of the loss of mental and physical energy which must be entailed by such an appalling consumption of alcoholic beverages. I remember how eagerly, at the beginning of my stay in America, I went to the meetings for "the temperance cause." I listened attentively to no end of speeches by ladies and gentlemen, but I am sorry to say the impression I gathered was neither cheerful nor hopeful. They were all prohibitionists. I do not intend to suggest any thing to them. I am well aware that they hold themselves as infallible as the Pope and past suggestions. But I will say what ideas, on this subject of temperance, have been running through the head of an ignorant European "greenhorn." It seemed, then, to said "greenhorn," that the prohibitionists were just as intemperate as the people whom they are striving to legislate into temperance; nay, into abstemiousness.

First, it should at least be suspected that such a great evil must have deep roots embedded in the very life of our society. There must be some great cause to bring about such a gigantic effect, and science as well as experience teach us that symptomatic cures, without extirpation of the causes, are not of great avail. Thus it is that the cure of intemperance links with the cure of other greater evils, of which we shall see more in the last part of this volume.

Secondly, even leaving the general etiological cure aside, we must remember that in every thing we must go by degrees, and fanaticism is bad even when clothed with good intentions. Why, for instance, should they raise a crusade also against wine? There is not in the world a beverage more wholesome, more cheerful to mind and body. It is a great help to our toilsome life. It seems so naturally to agree with us, that its very use is conducive to moderation. Which are the countries most noted for the general sobriety of their peo-

ple? France, Italy, Spain; namely, the countries where wine is cheap and within the means of almost every body. Even in these countries ninety per cent. of the few drunkards belong to the poorest classes, for whom wine is a forbidden luxurv. Luckily the United States are so situated that they can give their people good, wholesome wine at a very moderate price. It is safe to foresay that in a few years wine will be cheaper in America than anywhere in Europe. Far from viewing this fact with sacred horror as the prohibitionists do, it should be hailed as a great preserver from liquordrinking and from intoxication. One of the great advantages of a general custom of wine-drinking lies in this, that it generally educates the palates of the drinkers. Very likely the reader has noticed this fact: the eyes of the American people are eminently educated; they are quick, sharp, exact. So is their hearing, in sharpness, at least, if not generally in musicality. So is their sense of smell: witness for this sense, and also that of sight, the intense delight that all, men and women, take in flowers. But their palate seems to be worthy of the age of flint. I shall not insist on their cooking, although it is fair to say that the time has come when American cooking is fast disappearing under the refining influence of European chefs! But look at the way in which they drink their wines and liquors. It is a profanation. Into the finest wines they throw moun-

tains of ice; the most delicately flavored cognacs or brandies they swallow as a turkey swallows a chestnut, and quick! presto! they drown and bury it deep under a tumblerful of ice-water. Look on the contrary at the way that French, Italians, or Spaniards sip their wines and liquors, and you will see the difference between educated and uneducated palates. This is not a trifling circumstance: men who sip their wines in a reasonable, I would say, critical way, who have fine palates, are never drunkards. They appreciate wine, they feel-its delicate flavor too much to throw it to the dogs as drunkards do. drunkard is always a man of rough palate, obtuse to the fine art of wine drinking. He must be "full" in order to feel any thing. There is a fine passage in "The Marble Faun" which I beg to quote. When Kenyon, the sculptor, visits Donatello's old home on the Apennines, a bottle of "sunshine" is brought in.

"Taste it," said Donatello, filling his friend's glass and pouring likewise a little into his own. "But first smell its fragrance, for the wine is very lavish of it, and will scatter it all abroad."

"Ah, how exquisite!" said Kenyon. "No other wine has a bouquet like this. The flavor must be rare indeed, if it fulfill the promise of this fragrance, which is like the airy sweetness of youthful hopes that no realities will ever satisfy!"

"This invaluable liquor was of a pale golden

hue like other of the rarest Italian wines, and, if carelessly and irreligiously quaffed, might have been mistaken for a very fine kind of champagne. It was not however an effervescing wine, although its delicate piquancy produced a somewhat similar effect upon the palate. Sipping, the guest longed to sip again; but the wine demanded so deliberate a pause, in order to detect the hidden peculiarities and subtle exquisiteness of its flavor, that to drink it was really more a moral than a physical enjoyment. There was a deliciousness in it that eluded analysis, and—like whatever else is superlatively good-was perhaps better appreciated in the memory than by present consciousness. One of its most ethereal charms lay in the transitory life of the wine's richest qualities; for, while it required a certain leisure and delay, yet, if you lingered too long upon the draught, it became disenchanted both of its fragrance and its flavor-"The lustre should not be forgotten among the other admirable endowments of the Monte Beni wine, for, as it stood in Kenyon's glass a little circle of light glowed on the table round about it.

as if it were really so much golden sunshine.

"I feel myself a better man for that ethereal potation," observed the sculptor."

Can you conceive the possibility of a man who drinks wine in this superb way ever getting drunk? You might as well suppose that a man with fine musical taste and well trained ear will take delight in howling around the streets at night at the top of his lungs. As a typical contrast, read Bret Harte's poem, "Twenty Years." A friend has just broken the seal of a bottle on which a crust has been "slow-fashioned" by "the dust of the years," . .; and the poet sings:

"Beg your pardon, old fellow! I think
I was dreaming just now when you spoke;
The fact is, the musical clink
Of the ice on your winegoblet's brink
A chord of my memory woke."

Ice in a wine twenty years old! proh pudor! Why don't you put pickles in it? It would make it more piquant!

Let us, then, help to promote, in the interest of temperance itself, the raising of grapes and the making of good, delicious, cheering wine; and let us not mind the well-meaning, but narrow-minded, as well as long-faced crowd, that cry down Noah's invaluable gift. General daily wine-drinking at meals will help a great deal toward the removal of intemperance. That this is a panacea to wipe away from the face of the land even the last trace of thirst for liquor, I by no means pretend. A complete cure of intemperance lies, above all, in the removal of those causes which produce misery, ignorance and hopelessness among so many peoples.

VI. THE CHURCH OF ROME.

A FEW pages above, something has been said about the Church in general; but there is one denomination—Roman Catholicism—which asks for some consideration apart.

Concerning the Church of Rome in the United States, the first thing that strikes a foreigner is its great strength here. It is greater, I think, than in any country in Europe. As we inquire into the causes of this fact, there appear to be several. First, the same general cause which makes the authority of the clergy, Protestant as well as Catholic, greater here than in Europe; viz., the absorbing devotion to business and practical pursuits, which prevents so large a number, even of the well-to-do, from thinking for themselves about the highest problems of life, from paying the necessary attention to those results of science which, although they do not concern immediately the production of material wealth, affect directly our highest tenets in religion and morals. It is only fair to say that the well-to-do classes in Europe, although not so quite up in "technical" knowledge, are possessed of a denser and at the same time wider theoretical and philosophical culture. The middle classes in Europe are, as a rule, better, or certainly not less cultivated than their priests, and in matters of philosophy, nay, sometimes even of theology, are apt to teach their priests rather than be taught by them. America things are rather different, although they are rapidly changing. It is quite common to meet physicians, lawyers, engineers, who, however skillful in their professions, are remarkably deficient on matters of general philosophical culture. Hence the clergy, who have almost a monopoly in the highest fields of speculation, feel entitled to lead the community in religious and moral thought. This state of affairs, which strengthens the position of the Protestant clergy, helps the Catholic clergy as well. This absence of philosophic thought is even more noticeable among Catholics than among Protestants; first, because Catholicism encourages such kind of thinking far less than Protestantism: second, because the Catholics of the United States are mainly foreign-born, or born of foreign parents, which means that the bulk of them are either too poor or too recently rich to have means and leisure and suitable preparations for such studies.

Another reason for the great strength of Catholicism in the United States is to be found in the fact that the largest, most active and vigorous part of the Catholics are Irish. In Ireland the cause of Catholicism has been so long and

so closely allied with the cause of justice and patriotism, that no true-hearted Irishman can help entertain a feeling of loyal and strict allegiance to a Church whose ministers have stood by him and his fathers, have comforted them with their blessings, and cheered and helped them in their long national strifes. It is the same fact which happens in Poland, which happened in Italy at the times of Gregory VII, Alexander III and Innocent III, during the great fights against the German Emperors, and lately, in 1846, when Pius IX appeared willing to put himself at the head of the national movement.

Other causes are the powerful organization of the Roman Church (the most powerful in the world, I dare say), and the comparative youth of this Church in the States. In Europe and South America the Catholic Church has been so much battered; it struck at and was struck by so many and so powerful interests; it has found itself, of late especially, in direct opposition with policies and aspirations dear to so many peoples, that it could not help dragging upon itself much discussion, indifference, hatred and even contempt. Nothing of the kind, on the whole, has happened as yet in the United States. The Catholic Church took its foothold here when the nation was organized; it has accepted, as things go, the constitutions which the people have given unto themselves. and, although it misses some privileges which it enjoys in Europe, the Catholic Church has never had openly and directly to oppose any main interest of the country. Again, the diplomatic relations of the United States with the European nations are so free and of so little consequence that a case has never yet occurred in which the Catholic Church was forced either to give up some important claim of hers, or to wage war against the policy of the American Republic.

These last two causes, the powerful organization and the comparative recentness of the institution, together with an active propaganda, and other causes of which more hereafter, explain also the rapid growth of Catholicism in this country. Because it does grow; nobody will be so foolish as to deny it. "In 1800 the Catholic population was 100,000. In 1884, according to official, statistics, it was 6,628,176. At the beginning of the century there was one Catholic to every 53 of the whole population; in 1850, one to 14.3; in 1870, one to 8.3; in 1880, one to 7.7 ... From 1800 to 1880 the population (of the .U. S.) increased nine-fold, the membership of all evangelical churches twenty-seven fold, and the Catholic population sixty-three fold. . . . From 1850 to 1880 the population (of the U.S.) increased 116 per cent., the communicants of evangelical churches 185 per cent., and the Catholic population 294 per cent. From 1850 to 1880 the number of evangelical churches increased 125 per cent.; during the same period Catholic churches increased 447 per cent. From 1870 to 1880 the churches of all evangelical denominations increased 49 per cent., while Catholic churches multiplied 74 per cent. From 1870 to 1880 the ministers of evangelical churches increased in number 46 per cent. Catholic priests 61 per cent. From 1850 to 1870, ministers increased 86 per cent. priests 204 per cent. From 1850 to 1880, ministers increased 173 per cent. and priests 391 per cent."

These figures do not require any comment; they speak for themselves. Are there any reasons, any signs showing that this increase is likely to go on, at least for years? There are, in my judgment, not a few. Of course we speak here merely of human motives; an examination of the nature and influence of theological dogmas is always a very thorny field, and entirely apart from the scope and nature of these notes. Judging, then, only from a secular point of view, several reasons vouch for the Catholic Church a constant growth in the United States.

First, its organization is so strong, it is so solidly knit together, that, while it is ever open to add and take to itself new conquests, it makes it extremely difficult to lose even one inch of what has been gained. In fact, it requires hardly less

¹ J. Strong, "Our Country," p. 56-67.

than a complete change in a nation's ideas and culture to release it from the hold of Catholicism.

In the second place, the emotional character of Catholic worship is better suited to the nature of some people, like the Kelts (remember also, by the way, that the Irish are among the most prolific stocks of the United States-another good element for the propagation of Catholicism) and not a little part of the American people. Americans might as well recognize that, with the possible exception of some parts of New England. they are growing to be an emotional people from day to day. With the exception of militarism and matters of art, the Americans are quite as emotional as the French themselves. Ambition, rush of life, a general spread of half-culture, the general character of the press, the lack of any recognized standard and authority in every branch of thought and life, tend to make them more and more unsteady, nervous and excitable, to develop in them the emotional rather than the firm, quiet, intellectual side of our nature. It would be blindness not to see what a delightful contrast of peace and restful acquiescence the Catholic Church offers to the victims of this social tornado. opens to them a quiet, stormless bay where to steer and lay at anchor the ships of their poor lives so fiercely tossed by winds and waves. This is more especially the case with women. In the weary hours of monotonous toil or amid the excite-

ment of a fashionable life, when their nerves are tired out and their delicate frame is almost broken to pieces, when a disappointed ambition makes them weary of society, or the vanishing of a dream, the failure of a hope long cherished in their inmost hearts, brings home to them the vanity of life, then the Church, the Catholic Church above all, appeals to them and beckons: "Come unto me all ve that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." If you are worried by scruples, doubts and remembrances, here is the minister of God; tell him of your troubles; he has power from Heaven to bless you and cheer you and save you. Behold! the beautiful temple stands wide open; the splendid columns rise in marble files as though reaching to Heaven itself; from the altar, from the dome, from every corner beauty charms and invites. Behold the fine statues, the paintings, the mosaics, the carvings. Through the atmosphere, laden with delicate perfume, waves of music roll and swell slowly and majestically, like many-colored clouds rocked by the wind on a radiant summer evening. You need not try to understand the words of the song; they are in a strange language which you do not understand. Just listen; give up yourself to the charm of that beautiful rhythm which is sung to-day as it was sung a thousand years ago by your forefathers, and as it will be thousands of years from now. What a simple grandeur in the music, what majesty and purity of tone!

Look up! see how the Blessed Lady shines in her gold and silver robes! Take courage; she will be your patroness. She is a woman; she understands those delicate mysteries of woman's heart, to which men's minds seem to be shut forever. Open your hearts to her; she who has suffered so much, will "Ave Maria! understand you and console you. O Virgin, O Lady, O Wholly-sainted! what beautiful names every language has for Thee! savage lands, beyond what seas, flowers are gathered which are unknown to Thy sainted altars? Thee, when the day rises and when it falls and when the sun parts it half-way, Thee the bell salutes, and calls the pious crowds to worship Thee! Thee, amid the fears of dark watches, the child invokes; to Thee, when the storm swells and roars, trembling the sailor turns. regal bosom the poor woman sheds her despised tears, and to Thee, O Blessed One, she tells the troubles of her immortal soul,—to Thee who listenest to her prayers and lamentations, not as the world does, which cruelly discriminates between the sorrows of the lowly and those of the great ones."

There is such a soothing charm in the rites of the Catholic Church, such a motherly appealing to the weakest side of our nature, that it is difficult to doubt, emotional as we are growing from year to year, that the Catholic Church will increase its hold over us.

The absolutistic character of Catholic faith and discipline is also a particular strength, especially in America. The older I grow, the more I see the truth of the saying that men want above all a leader, and are ready to follow him when they think they have found one. Even men who are strong-minded and self-reliant, can, as a rule, be competent to decide about their conduct only in one special path; for all the rest they must trust others who have had special aptitudes or special opportunities. It is the same in commerce and industry as well as in science and morals. Even in Wall Street, let it transpire that a man "knows," that he can "lead," and people will flock round him, ready to empty their pockets into his, as the best possible investment of their money. Men are so eager for a leadership that, as soon as they are politically free, they start all kinds of associations and guilds which curtail their liberty, but give them the advantage of advice and organization. No people is freer than this admirable Anglo-Saxon stock; at the same time no people has a greater number of associations, like freemasons, templars, odd fellows, etc., where each member binds himself by oath.

This tendency, especially when combined with some weariness of mind, finds its natural appearement in the absolute constitution of the Catholic Church. There, at last, a man finds peace from his daily intellectual strife; there he finds those

who think for him; he has only to give himself up to their guidance and he will have rest and peace.

Another advantage of the Catholic Church in the United States is that it gives some of its ' devotees a kind of social style and prestige. I happen to know some ladies whose Catholicism does not count many years. I do not mean to insinuate that they have embraced Catholicism out of love for style and fashion. But, with what a lovely unction they speak of their "dear" bishop, how grand he looks in his pontifical robes, how dignified, how refined he is! and what a sweet voice! One of them has been received by the Pope, and his Holiness was so good as to present her with one of his pictures. It is true that the Pope received her merely as her spiritual father, almost, I would say, in a sort of professional way. But what an amiable fuss she makes over that event and that "sacred" picture! Is not the Pope the peer of any king? and to have been received by him, is it not a passport for the best society in the world? And to receive a bishop in vour house—never mind whether he comes to confirm the children or for some other religious purpose—is it not a great social triumph? Thus, by an easy sophism, religion and religious intercourse are ingeniously turned to the benefit of those petty social ambitions in which the feminine heart delights. I know very well that this happens with every church, whether Catholic or otherwise; but evidently the pomp, dignity and titles with which Catholicism surrounds its prelates, make it more possible for them to impart with their presence a certain social prestige, and stamp with their authority social ambitions which are yet struggling for recognition.

It is noteworthy that, although the Catholic Church can satisfy the philistine ambitions of the well-to-do, at the same time it appeals directly to the hearts of the poor. The Church is never the property of some members, by whose permission outsiders are admitted and tolerated. It belongs to the whole congregation; it is open from morning till night every day in the year, and the poorest, humblest woman that breathes can go in and kneel beside a queen. Again, although the poor notice not seldom that their clergy seem rather inclined to look up at the rich members and down upon them, they feel that in a case of contestation, ultima ratione, the rich will have to submit as well as they. They rejoice in this feeling that, before the absolute authority of the Church, they are all equal. It is the same feeling which in the declining years of the Republic reconciled the Roman populace with the absolute authority of the emperor, before whom they were on the same level with the hated patricians. Besides, we must not forget that the pomp and music and processions and all the ceremonial paraphernalia of the Catholic Church appeal more

directly to the hearts of the poor and uneducated than the rigid and more strictly intellectual rites of other denominations.

It is, then, reasonable to expect that the Catholic Church will continue to spread and increase; and we may now ask: "Is this a good thing for the people of the United States?" By this question it is not meant whether the Catholic Church will help the people or hinder them in conquering their eternal salvation. This is entirely outside of the scope of these observations. But every organization. religious and otherwise, has, nay, can not help having a certain influence on the private and public life of a people. This it is always allowed to inquire into, independently of the principles on which the organization rests. For instance, the claim of the Mormons that their church rests on a divine authority, may be true or not; it is not our business to see which. But we see that certain social products of their church are, according to our best understanding, pernicious to our civilization; therefore we feel it to be our duty, without impugning the value of their claims as a religious body, to fight against the social evils which they promote. In the same way, without even for a moment thinking of discussing the foundation of their dogmas, we are entitled to inquire what are, and what are likely to be the influences of the Catholic, as well as of any other church, on our social life.

First, there are some good and wholesome effects which more especially the Catholic Church can bring about, than any other denomination. Its solid organization and discipline are a very good example for a democratic society. Likewise, the principle of authority and tradition which it enforces more than any other of our religious institutions, gives in a certain way a fixed point, a standing center, to a society which seems to have none. Moreover, it has a character more determinedly international than any other Christian Therefore its true spirit is against narrow-minded patriotism, and is apt to pave the way. for a more healthy, broader and nobler love of man, not limited by geographical lines or discrepance of dialects. In this respect Catholicism is superior to all other churches; its character is universal, while almost all other denominations are merely provincial.

But how does this church stand toward the other highest ideals of our times? toward that bundle of maxims which are the dearest conquest of modern civilization, such as freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, absolute independence of the State of any religious institution? It is a standing boast of the Catholic Church that it can go along with the most free and democratic as well as with the most despotic institutions. Let us see how far this is really true. The last Vatican Council has confirmed and proclaimed as follows:

"Let nobody dare to say that for a good political organization it is necessary to separate the Church from the State so that the authority be deprived of the right and duty of punishing with sanctioned penalties the enemies of the Catholic religion,"-And "if any body says that Christ our Lord and Saviour has given his Church only a power of directing by advice and persuasion, and not also the power of commanding by laws, and of compelling and forcing with public judgment and salutary pains those who deviate or are contumacious, let him be anathematized."-And "if any body says that the laws of the Church have no compelling power unless they are supported by the sanction of the civil law, let him be anathematized." And, "if any body says that the true Church of Christ, outside of which nobody can be saved, is different from the one holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, let him be anathematized.*

In substance, according to the Vatican Council,

^{*}Quapropter nemo dicere praesumat . . . ad optimam societatis publicæ rationem necessariam esse civilis Reipublicæ ab Ecclesia separationem ita ut imperio negetur ius et officium coërcendi sancitis pœnis violatores Catholicæ religionis, nisi quatenus pax publica postulet.

Si quis dixerit a Christo Domino et Salvatore nostro Ecclesiæ suae collatam tantum fuisse potestatem dirigendi per consilia et suasiones, non vero etiam iubendi per leges, ac devios contumacesque exteriori judicio ac salubribus poenis coërcendi atque cogendi, anathema sit.

there is only one true Church of Christ, the Roman; this Church has power to compel by material penalties those who leave it (devios) or refuse to enterit(———); the State must not be separated from the Church, and the laws of the Church are compulsory by themselves; if any body doubts any of these points let him be excommunicated.

How can a Church which professes such principles live at peace with a society, whose cardinal principles are at the opposite pole? With a society where the State is separated from the Church, where the Church has no civil power, least of all the power to punish any body because he has left or intends to leave the Church? Evidently, only by continual equivocations, jesuitical restrictions and all those mental and practical subterfuges for which the Church of Rome has long been famous. Mild and foxy at first, the Church of Rome does not show its clutches until it feels strong enough, and even then it advances wisely, prudently and as by stealth, quickly covering with the dignified mantle of the prelate the bold, not over-scrupulous move of the politician.

Si quis dixerit leges Ecclesiæ vim obligandi non habere, nisi quatenus civilis potestatis sanctione firmentur anathema sit.

Si quis dixerit veram Christi Ecclesiam, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, aliam esse praeter unam, sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam; anathema sit.

The stronger it grows the more it wants, until nothing short of absolute power can satisfy it.* The people of the United States had better take care and heed the lesson that history teaches. Are there not symptoms enough that the Catholic Church is pursuing here the same course? It would be silly to fear that the Catholic Church will ever be strong enough to endanger the life and the independence of this Republic; but it is likely to bring about that antagonism between Church and State which is one of the sorest wounds of the Catholic countries.

It would certainly be wise to take notice of these facts and provide while we are in time. But, By making special laws, or starting an agitation against the Catholic Church? indeed; these methods belong to other times, and, besides, have always, proved inefficient. Our ways must be rational, and therefore enlightened and charitable. If there are tares in the field of your neighbor which threaten to invade yours, the best and most useful way is to go and help him to weed them out. If there is any thing in the Catholic Church which may offend the liberty or welfare of a nation, do not doubt that the Catholics themselves will be the first to suffer from it. Therefore, if you go and help them to get rid of that drawback, the Catholics themselves, the most

^{*}Dante represents the Roman Court as a she-wolf which "after the repast is hungrier than ever."

intelligent at least, will surely welcome you and co-operate with you.

What is the element in the Catholic Church which is mostly against the spirit of our times? It is the absolute power of the Pope over the Church in general, and of the Bishop over the Were the clergy free from the lower clergy. Episcopal despotism, and were not the Pope the center of all interests as well as of all power of the Catholic Church, such principles as those that I have quoted here above would never have been proposed to or approved by any Catholic council. This Czar-like organization of the Church breeds a spirit of despotism which shows itself in the proclamations of the councils and the appointments and decisions of the Vatican. Thus the autocratic hierarchy breeds dogmatic despotism, which in its turn upholds the hierarchy. This is the truly sore spot in the Catholic Church. has debased and almost annihilated the religion of the Catholic nations and threatens the Protestant ones. The best remedy for this wound, in my judgment, is to go directly to the headquartersto Rome. The destruction of the temporal power of the Pope, of that monstrous connubium of sword and cross, has proved a great blessing. For this and for the prudent, liberal-minded provisions adopted for the independence of the Pope, the Italian government deserves the thankfulness of the world. But this is only one step; another is to be

taken, which is far humbler in appearance, but which will be enough in the course of time to revolutionize the constitution of the Catholic Church. In all the Catholic countries, as it is well-known, every parson is appointed by the Over all his parsons the Bishop has absolute power. He can order a priest from one parish to another, or even suspend him entirely from his service, at his own will and pleasure. The people have nothing to say; the income of the parish goes by law to the parson appointed by the Bishop. The Bishop being appointed by the Pope, the most absolute despotism proceeds from Rome and clutches all the Catholic clergy, and, through them, the people, even to the remotest corners of the world. The people have absolutely. no voice, no authority, no will. The Pope commands the Bishop, the Bishop transmits the word to the parsons; these enjoin it on the people, for whom nothing is left but to obey and pay the expenses. This has not always been, however; there was a time when the people, rather than the Bishops and parsons, represented the true living Church; when the people formed free, self-ruling congregations, and the parson was their own appointed chief. Those were indeed the best times of the Church; when the Pope and the Bishop exercised a kind of spiritual paternal leadership, leaving the life of the Church to the free energies of the people and clergy.

Church was a true godly democracy, where the Gospel was the code, and the most pious and learned were the chosen chiefs.

What is it necessary to do in order to bring the Catholic Church as near its former self as possible? The most direct way is to restore to the people the right of appointing their parsons. This is easier to do than some would think. all the countries where Catholicism is definitely and permanently settled, each parish has a certain fixed income, which, being given by the people, should be managed by the people. Still, it has happened again and again that a congregation · refused to receive the parson sent them by the Bishop, but the State has always stood by the Bishop, and the income of the parish had to go to the parson, chosen by him, although the people refused to go to his services. This is a consecration, on the part of the State, of an old abuse; it is yet a consequence of the times when throne and altar used to join their issues against the people. Things now are somewhat changed, however, and the day is not far off when the State will see, or will be made to see, that it has no business to enforce with its authority a hoary usurpation of the Episcopacy. Then every congregation will be at liberty to withhold the income of their parish from the parson whom they do not like to have. The consequence would be that no parson would be appointed without the

'placet' of the parishioners, and by and by, practically, if not nominally, the election itself would revert to their hands. By this simple, reasonable and just provision, the sword of Papal despotism would lose its point. The parsons would be the representatives of the spiritual communion of the people, not the docile instruments in the hands of Episcopal absolutism. No important decision would be passed upon either by the Vatican or by the Bishops, without first consulting the parsons, in order to know whether the contemplated decision can be enforced on the people or not. In other words, a true spirit of Christian liberty would pervade the Catholic Church: would make it a most popular and most democratic, as already it is the most 'international' of the living churches.

The people of the United States, Catholics as well as Protestants, should help by means of literature, lectures, and all other lawful means, to bring about such a modification in the discipline of the Catholic Church. Then indeed, they would no longer have to dread in the Catholic Church an enemy to their free institutions, but they would find in it a most powerful ally.

P. S.—This had long been written when the case of Dr. McGlynn came into prominence. What I have written, helps, I hope, to the understanding of the great importance of this case. It is not a solitary accident. It is the consequence of a

system. Protestant constituencies, who love their own country, are not less interested than Catholics themselves, in the final triumph of the people. Let us not befog the primal importance of this case with superficial or Philistine Pharisaic considerations. Of course, things being as they now are, the Bishop of New York has the right to remove or suspend any of his parsons for any offense or any thing which he considers an offense. But is it right that things should be so? Would they be so if the people had any share in the appointment of parsons? Could the bishop exercise such an authority as he claims, if Catholic communicants were wise enough, when they have built a church and a parish, to keep the deed of their property in the name of their trustees, instead of turning it over to the Bishop? This is the lesson that Dr. McGlynn's case most forcibly suggests, and which we should heed. this country where churches are just beginning to be built, let the congregation keep the deed of their property; then no parson could enter it without their permission. In other words, the Bishop would be obliged to come to terms, and listen to the people when he is about to appoint a parson. Should this become a universal custom in the Catholic church in America, its salutary influence would immediately be felt all over the Catholic world. Soon, France, Italy, Spain and all the Catholic populations would claim for

themselves the same rights as their American brethren: the popular election of parsons. Thus the St. Stephen's and the other American parishes can set an example for the world, whose consequences will last in the centuries.

VII. THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

ALL that we have said thus far, however, is only of secondary importance in comparison with the facts we have yet to consider. Deep, underlying all problems of politics, morals and religion, there is another problem which contains them all: the amount and distribution of welfare among the people.

No one believes more sincerely than I do in the civilizing influence of education and religion, and the increase of happiness they cause. even these great agencies can not do half their best if they are not accompanied and propped by a moderate amount of welfare among the people. No education, no religion, no fineness of breed can withstand the baleful influence of prolonged and hopeless misery. There is not a fibre so shattered which a state of reasonable comfort will not rebuild: but there is not a man so finely wrought whom daily want, wretchedness and dirt will not break and cause to lose the best part of his manhood. If by a strength which might be deemed miraculous, he retains some of his manly vigor and dignity, his children will surely lose them. If Brutus had been made a slave, the children of this most fiery among the Romans would surely have grown up timid, tame, trembling at the sight of their master's whip, in nothing different from the children of other slaves. The whole history of mankind, as well as the experience of every day, shows us to be chiefly the product of our surroundings. The son of a king, brought up in the slums of New York, might perhaps retain some trace of his refined breed, but in ideas and aspirations and doings he would not be different from the urchins who grow and play and toil with him. The individual most naturally endowed needs a certain amount of comfort and opportunities to develop the most, if not all, of his good possibilities.

It appears, then, that the problem of production and distribution of wealth, is one of paramount, moral not less than economical, importance; that of the *distribution* of wealth, above all. In this century production has so enormously increased that the problem of *distribution* becomes every day more pressing and absorbing.

I contend that it is self-evident that the greater the diffusion of wealth, the better for the community and the individuals. A village of one thousand inhabitants with one thousand dollars each, is to be preferred to a village of one thousand people, where one is a millionaire and the rest all paupers. To reach this desirable diffusion of wealth, can or must governments do something?

Immediately we hear from a chorus of doctrinaires "governments must not do any thing." There are, they say, natural laws in the economic, just as fixed and iron bound as the laws of the physical world. It is a dangerous foolishness to meddle with them. If there is any excrescence, any apparent anomaly, they are like the phenomena of pathology and teratology in the physical world. The law of supply and demand and free competition will correct all that is bad or wrong.

Let us inquire what these boasted economic laws really are. They are certain general results reached by the study of Political Economy. What is the nature of this science? At its best, Political Economy is a thorough and unbiased study of how wealth is produced and distributed with certain peoples. In other words, it is a descriptive science, deducing certain principles from certain facts. Political economists are right, as a rule, when they claim that the general principles of their science are in accordance with the actual But see how easily they deceive themselves and others. From stating that facts are thus as they describe them, they proceed to assume that facts must be so. Statistics is a science which deals with social phenomena and is, to say the least, as exact and reliable as Political Economy. Statistics is right when it shows us that, in accordance with certain physical conditions of society, the rates of death, birth and crime increase

or decrease. But what would anybody say if statisticians should come forth claiming that these results must always be such as they are; that in a certain city, or nation, or climate, the rate of death will always be x, and nothing can or must be done to alter it? The absurdity of such claim would be self-evident. Still this is exactly what a school of Political Economists intend to do. From the existence of certain economical conditions, which are far from being universal with all human societies, they have deduced principles which they claim to be universal and absolute. In the words of Prof. Thomas Davidson [The Moral Aspects of the Economic Question], "The chief problem which Political Economy has thus set itself is this; given human nature essentially selfish; land, private property; and competition of labor and capital unlimited, how will wealth be produced and distributed?" It is easy to see that these postulates are far from being universal and absolute. "It needs but a very little reflection to see that, given human nature partially or wholly unselfish; land public property; and capital and labor co-operating instead of competing, our entire political economy has no application. Indeed, it is clear, that as soon as any one of these things is true, our present economy falls to the ground." We must not trouble ourselves with the boasted absoluteness of the principles of political economy. We

can, nay we must interfere with those economical conditions from which these principles have been deduced, just as we are in duty bound to alter those sanitary conditions on which the high death rates of statistics depend. The notion that the action of governments must be merely political, entirely outside of the economic field, can not be defended on any good ground. Government is the highest instrument for the preservation and advancement of society, the greatest organ of civilization. That civilization is the best which affords the individuals the greatest opportunities. This can not be done without interfering with social and natural conditions. We may well talk of the sacredness and inviolability of the laws of nature. The fact is that every thing good and beautiful we have, has been obtained by acting upon these laws. Look at our gardens, at our stables, kennels and poultry-yards; there is not a beautiful plant, not a fine specimen of animal which has not been obtained by deliberately interfering with their natural conditions. Man himself abandoned to the empire of natural laws can not be any thing else than a savage.

The duty of a government to interfere with the dangerous tendencies of the present economic conditions is especially great with democratic societies. Many seem not to realize the enormous greatness of the experiment which the framers of the American constitution initiated.

In my intercourse with Americans of different social conditions, I have frequently had the opportunity to notice their failure in this respect. Some are afraid of the government of the people. by the people and for the people, and do not hesitate to say that they would even prefer what they call a strong government, namely: a government hedged by an aristocratic class and supported by a numerous army. I noticed that these wishes were more frequently and more deliberately expressed during the recent strikes. Others think that, after all, every thing will turn out right; the only way, they say, is to let things alone; and they pass by with a great indifference, born mainly of selfishness or of that childish confidence in Providence which is the characteristic of fools and boys. Neither have the courage to face frankly the situation. Given a mass of men with political power, there is no middle path; either you have to disfranchise them, or you have to educate them and give them opportunities for self-development.

It is curious to see how the acute Sir H. S. Maine himself fails to reach the bottom question in discussing the dangers of popular governments, and how all his American critics whom I have happened to read, evade his assertions without having the skill or the adroitness to show that they are right in themselves, but incomplete. "Bentham's fundamental proposition, he says

("Popular Government," page 86) is that if you place power in men's hands, they will use it for their interest. Applying the rule to the whole of a political community, we ought to have a perfect system of government; but taking it in connection with the fact that multitudes include too much ignorance to be capable of understanding their interest, it furnishes the principal argument against democracy." This is undoubtedly true, whatever ultrademocratic critics may say. But what is the consequence? does it necessarily follow that every popular government must be suppressed? It is plain that there is another issue; if the ignorance of the multitudes prevents them from understanding their interest, supply them with the necessary education. But experience shows that no good education, moral and intellectual, is separable from a certain amount of material welfare. Therefore if a popular government has to be safe, education and welfare have to be diffused among the masses.

Again, Sir H. S. Maine's observations that the prejudices of the masses are strong and numerous, and every great thing has come to us from aristocracies, are in the main true. We must remember, however, that he considers the masses as they were, and in great part still are. But can not this be changed? Can not the people be educated? Is there any reason why any part of

a people should be damned to perpetual ignorance? and education should belong only to the offspring of the rich? It is true that in Greece, in Rome, and the Middle Ages, all the highest tendencies of society came from aristocracy. But we must not forget that then no one of the great agencies was known which have made the diffusion of knowledge and education possible. No comparison can be made between the intellectual state of the ancient Plebs with the people of our days. fact, in many respects our people are superior even to the aristocracies of the past. In fine, there is no hereditarity of ignorance any more than of education. All men, except idiots, can be educated, and this a popular government must undertake.

Macaulay's warning is also well known. "The day will come," he wrote to a friend in America (1857), "when in the state of New York, not one-half of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a Legislature will be chosen?"

Some are frightened by the blunt frankness of these words into a dread of popular government. But evidently these premises admit two conclusions: either popular governments must be suppressed, or they have to see to it that no man go without his breakfast. In other words, from whatever point we look at it, we can not escape

the intimate connection of popular government with social questions.

Some have a way of their own, and a queer way it is, to answer these objections against the ignorance and unreliability of the mob. While they are loud in speaking of the wretched poverty of the people, and the necessity of improving their condition, they insist that such ignorance does not exist; that, after all, the poor are better than the well-to-do. They do not perceive that if this were the case, their assertions would defeat their aims. If the poor were better than the wellto-do, there would be no great necessity of changing their state, as that state is to be preferred which makes better men. But in what are they better than the well-to-do? Intellectually? No one will dare say, yes. Physically? Hardly. indeed. Politically? No, because they allow themselves to be led, hoodwinked and twisted around by any boss, or self-constituted leader. Morally? Some would fain say, yes, but facts say, no. Leaving aside the few who live idly (and there are idle men also among the poor), the middle classes are busy and active. As a rule, they work, but they are not overworked, as the poor are. Work is healthy and moral. Overwork is unhealthy and, in a wide sense, immoral; it depresses the whole man and, at length, it demoralizes him. A weak man is never so moral, at least more seldom able to reach moral heroism, than a strong man. The well-to-do are surrounded with every thing that tends to improve, soothe and refine human nature. The poor are hedged in by miserable surroundings, rough company, debasing sights; are compelled to crowd themselves in malodorous rooms, to eat poor food and badly cooked, to drink wretched things. It would indeed be against good sense, against every thing that we know of man, to suppose that such conditions are apt to improve and develop human nature. The poor, it is said, have to suffer a good deal: and sorrow and suffering are the great teachers of life, the great purifiers of the human soul. This is true; no better, no grander school of moral elevation than sorrow. But neither are the well-to-do exempt from sorrow. The griefs for a disappointment in an artistic or scientific or even commercial achievement, for the downfall of a cherished son, for the loss of a beloved wife or child or mother, are as great as any man can undergo. It is moral sorrows that truly elevate and purify human nature; that snatch up our soul from the commonplace surroundings of everyday life and bring it to face the mysteries of a superior world. The sorrows which more particularly belong to the poor, arising from want and from the bitter daily struggle for bread, rather tend to narrow our soul, by weighing it down with a burden of cares which have little in themselves of heroic and great. In fine, a child brought up amid refining influences must certainly be better, as a rule, than a child who is accustomed to see his father drunk, and his mother abused and kicked.

At all events, the question is not whether the poor are better or worse than the well-to-do. The question is one of justice, which must be dealt not only to men morally or intellectually inferior, but even to criminals. Slaves are, no doubt, morally and intellectually and even physically the inferior of their masters; but they have the 'right' to fight for their liberty. It is just because wretched conditions make men worse, that the poor have all the more the right to stand up and claim their fair share in the good things of life. It is just because men can not live long in miserable conditions without their nature being impaired, that the greater is the obligation of society, above all of democratic societies, to see to it that the weaker are protected, that justice is dealt out to them with abundant measure and their lives made fuller and better.

One hears it often repeated, especially in democratic countries, that "one man is as good as another." If it is meant thereby that a man is just as intelligent, as moral, as strong as another, then this adage is arrant nonsense, and men and papers with conservative tendencies are right to sneer at it. But as happens generally with popular sayings, there is a soul of truth in it. It means that

every man has certain rights which are just as important, as sacred, as those of any other man; it means, at least, that the lives of all men are equally sacred. "The life of every man is sacred:" every body, even the most rabid aristocrat, admits that. Still this is almost a new principle in our civilization. It was first announced by Christianity, but it has never been fully understood, not to speak of its application. Up to the French Revolution, nobody thought that the life of a peasant was as sacred as that of an aristocrat. If a peasant or an artisan was deprived of his liberty without cause, it was not a very great crime; in fact, it did not amount to much. The "cheapness" of people's life was so universally admitted, that the peasants themselves regarded an outrage committed upon a count or a baron as something much worse than if done to . one of their class. This feeling still prevails to a great extent in many parts of Europe. What? In these very United States, the land of the declaration of human rights—has it not been held, up to twenty years ago, that the life of a certain class of men is not as sacred as that of another? In fact, this supreme principle of Christian civilization, is far from being fully understood and recognized by our societies. Should we understand that the life even of the most humble, ignorant and poor man under the sun belongs entirely and solely to him, that he has a sacred right to do the most and the best with it, that his affections, interests and aspirations, and in the

words of the fathers of our Constitution, his right "to the pursuit of happiness," are just as sacred, absolute and intangible as that of any king or genius or any man exceptionally placed-should we understand this, no State would claim the right, and no citizen would acknowledge in the state the power to tear a man from his family and march him off at beat of drums, to a wretched fate, fighting against men who are unknown to him, and for a cause which often he fails to understand, and where no true interest of his is at stake. Still this is what some of the most civilized governments are doing all the time, and so bedimmed is the consciousness of the sacredness of human life that none seem to suspect they are trepassing upon the highest, the most absolute right of man, in fact his right of rights. All our history and our civilization offer a queer spectacle; queer, indeed, were it not so sad. Poor human nature is so apt to attach itself to tangible material things. mindless of those spiritual powers which form the true essence of life, that always and everywhere men have cared more for the rights of property than for the rights of life itself. Men, who would go to court and make a fuss and, if need be, take justice into their hands when a neighbor opens a window over their yard, or the community darkens one of their rooms by building a bridge, these very men will stand by, passive, nay approving, when this same community or a despotic irresponsible ruler tears away from their family their best and strongest children, curtails their spiritual liberty, weakens or narrows their minds by restrictions of all kinds. Of this, however, more hereafter.

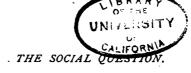
Meanwhile we must notice that, even with the most civilized countries, which admit as a principle the sacredness of human life—even with those that do not recognize in the State the right to compel citizens to engage in any fight it chooses to undertake (and these are only two, England and the United States), even with these countries this supreme principle is only understood in a kind of negative way. Namely, it is understood that society, no more than any individual, has not the right to interfere wilfully with the life, health and liberty of its members. So far, so good. But there is much more in this great principle: there is a 'positive' part which heretofore has been almost wholly neglected. "Sacredness of life" implies the right to lead the fullest life possible, the right to a healthy development of one's own nature. physical as well as spiritual. "The highest possible development of human life" is what each member of society owes to the others, and society to him. We feel the cogency of this duty especially when we are in the presence of children: then we refrain from doing and saying any thing which might cast an evil shadow upon their innocent souls, or mar or blight the virtuous development of their lives.

Maxima debetur puero reverentia, the Roman said. But here, too, this should not merely be understood negatively; we should not only refrain from doing or saying what can harm, but we should feel bound in duty to do and say what can help and better them. The same holdstrue in the relations of man to man, and society to individuals. We should not think that we owe our children reverentia only until they reach the age of reason; we owe it as long as we and they live.

This is the sole right of society to exist; "to offer higher opportunities for the development of human life." The worthiness or grade of perfection of any society can only be measured by this criterion: by the amount of these opportunities, intensively and extensively. In this respect, all societies are faced by a dilemma: either they admit that "only a part of their members are entitled to this development,—they are true persons; the others are not persons, or only half-persons; have lesser rights, are mere tools for the use and benefit of the privileged class. Or they admit that all their members are true persons; are equally entitled to the cares of society, are equally entitled to the highest possible development of their lives. cient societies belonged to the former class: they recognized the "sacredness of life" of only a small part of their members; the rest were mere instruments. The cares of the State, as well as its final aim, centered in the few privileged ones.

From this point of view, some of those societies, especially of Greece and Rome, were greatly successful: their mission was to a very high degree fulfilled. Modern civilized societies belong to the latter class: they recognize true personality and sacredness of life in all their members. The society which thus far has most frankly and most completely asserted this principle, is that of the United States of North America. From this position no shrinking is possible: either we must change the basis of our civilization, revert to the old system, and declare that only a few have the right to an ample development of their life, and the others are mere tools, beasts of burden that must work and suffer for the benefit of the few; -a return, however, which is hardly possible. Or we must frankly accept the consequences of that which is the basis as well as the ultimate result of our civilization: that all men are persons, that all are entitled to the fullest possible development of their personality; that in a baby born of a rag-picker there are potentialities which are entitled to a healthy and ample development not a whit less than the potentialities which are in the child of an emperor.

From this point of view the social question is to be looked at. Only in a very narrow sense it is an economical question. It is chiefly a question of ethics, a question of life. Even if all the members of our society were well fed, the social question would still be far from a solution. Slaves, as a



rule, were well fed, but their condition was far from supplying the necessary elements for the best development of human nature. The children of a rich man may be well fed, but they are entitled to far more: namely, to a high education and opportunities to develop all their capabilities into the completest life possible.

Never in the history of the world has this social question presented itself in the same light as It is a new dispensation. Scholars in our days. speak of Spartacus, the Gracchi, and the social wars in Rome, and try to adapt their premises and results to our own society. But the fundamental facts are entirely different. Roman society did not recognize in all of its members the same right to the development of life; in many it did not even recognize the property of their lives. Therefore it was logical when it proceeded to put down the rebellion by force of arms. It was simply a question of might; no right, at least on the part of the privileged few, was seen on the other side. Our civilization, on the contrary, rests on, and our constitution proclaims the same personal rights in all members of society. Therefore we may try to ignore these rights in the multitudes, or even to treat them as the Romans did, but not without fighting against principles which we have expressly acknowledged, and against the spirit of our civilization itself.

It is useless to look at the past and say that

one, two hundred years ago, the lower classes were far worse off than nowadays. Suppose they were; what does that prove? Two hundred years ago the lower classes were ready to let themselves be thrashed at the sweet will of any titled man, thrown into prison without trial, tortured when called to court as witnesses. All this they were accustomed to stand without complaint. Why? simply because they themselves considered themselves as inferior persons, viz., not clothed with the same personal rights as the nobles and aristocrats. All these which to us seem unbearable abuses did not appear as such to their eyes: they belonged, in their own opinion, to the natural order of things; the nobles had a right to treat them so "because they were nobles;" just as a king was entitled to make laws and unmake them, to levy taxes, to go to war at his will, to squander public money irresponsibly just "because he was But now we have proclaimed the equality of personal rights for all men, their absolute right to the free pursuit of happiness (which can not mean any thing if it does not mean right to develop their lives as fully as possible), and how can we come forth and talk about the better state of the so-called lower classes to-day than two hundred years ago? Are they now so situated as to have all the possibilities to develop their lives which our society might afford, or are they not? That is the question, not their higher

or lower state in comparison with two centuries. ago. Suppose Oueen Victoria should try, without a special law, to appropriate to her own private use a part, be it ever so small, of the public treasury; let us say \$50,000. And the Parliament and the people objecting, suppose the queen should say: "Now, do not make such a fuss over such a trifle. Two centuries ago the king could appropriate to himself all the treasury without consulting the Parliament. And now I want to take just a mere trifle. See how much better off you are now, and how far you have advanced upon the authority of the king." I don't think that any Englishman, however loyal to the monarchy, would be persuaded by such words. "It is not question of trifles or big sums," they would say, "Things are entirely changed now. The treasury belongs to us, and the king can not take a pound out of it without our consent; nay, not even a penny." •

Likewise, it is out of tune entirely to assert that the lower classes have gained because they are better off to-day than two hundred years ago. We must remember that new rights have been proclaimed which then were not recognized; rights which imperiously ask for a satisfaction, and society is bound to recognize under penalty of destroying its own very roots. When the society of the Middle Ages had seen that serfs and peasants were comfortably housed and fed and

clothed and "churched," then it could rest with the consciousness of having done its duty to its lower classes. Modern society, when it has done all this, has only gone half-way toward the fulfillment of its duty to its members: it recognizes in all of them the right to, and is bound to give them opportunities for education in the amplest meaning of the word, viz., development of their best forces, physical, moral, and intellectual.

To give its members higher opportunities for better life, I say again, is the chief duty, the ratio existentiae of our society. The economic system, not less than every thing else, is subordinate to this final aim. That economic system is the best which best helps to increase such opportunities. These opportunities are better and more generally available there where there is an equitable diffusion of welfare, with neither excessive wealth on one side, nor extreme poverty on the other. Therefore that is the best economic system which fosters a general diffusion of moderate welfare. This is self-evident, and nobody, I think, will impugn its truth.

The main features of our present economic system are these: political governments must not interfere with the economic world; every thing in the economical system must be left to the agency of free competition. This system has been on trial for two generations or more. What are its results? Can we say that it has abolished

excessive wealth and extreme poverty, bringing about a general diffusion of moderate welfare? I doubt that even the most fanatic doctrinaire would have the courage to say: yes! If we look at the peoples which, being economically the most developed, show most prominently the effects of the system, we are confronted by the sight of riches that surpass those of fabled eastern monarchs, beside such a dire poverty as no savage would endure.

This does not prove conclusively that the system is bad, but certainly it proves that either the system is bad in itself, or it works under circumstances that make it deleterious. It is, then, an imperative duty for society to interfere and redress what is wrong. The more democratic a society, the greater this duty is, as there the welfare of all is, more especially, a condition for the safety of the State.

I have insisted to some length on this necessity for the politico-social body to interfere with the economic system, because there is still no lack of men, in the United States not less than anywhere else, who claim that between politics and economics there is a wall which is death to climb. They are like physicians who should pretend that blood and nerves have nothing to do with each other, because they belong to two different systems of our body. The social body, not less than our physical body, is an organism; there is no part

which is not related to the others; which does not act or is not acted upon by all the other parts. We can study each part separately, but to proclaim that these parts are separated and unconnected, is like asserting that the physical and chemical properties of bodies are separated and unconnected because we study them separately. It is fair to acknowledge that the number of these doctrinaires seems to have somewhat diminished of late, and their voices to have grown weaker, especially since strike after strike has swept over the country like a thunderstorm. Indeed, the theory that the economical system is something apart, intangible, inviolable, in the midst of the social body, is exploded. where, perhaps, has it been more fully applied than in these United States; nowhere has it shown so well what a hollow mockery it is. That want of idealism, which, as it has been noticed, seems to be one of the greatest shortcomings of American civilization, appears again in their economic Our economical system of pitiless individual competition means, after all, "each one for himself," and doubtless no theory is better suited for a practical, matter-of-fact disposition of mind, such as we frequently find with the people of the United States. This practicalness of mind, together with a much-developed individualism, could not help making this theory highly acceptable to the young Republic. And accepted it was and carried to the bitter end. With what results?

With the results which we can witness every day that the sun rises: immense wealth on one side, wretched poverty and misery on the other. the world began to move, no people started on its career with so glorious advantages as this people of the United States. No people has ever had such a great, rich, beautiful continent reserved to itself; no people has ever been in such a fortunate position, with no powerful neighbors to compel it to divert to its defense and deathly arts any of its forces; these can be entirely devoted to the arts of peace and life. No people in the world is more industrious, ambitious, wide-awake, and still, after scarcely a century of national life, amidst these unparalleled possibilities, what are the results? The bone and sinews of the bountiful public domain have been squandered away; tendencies are at work widening the breach between rich and poor; the American cities present scenes of wretchedness and misery not a whit less appalling than some of the worst cities in the old world, and with a population of sixty millions, people are actually found to starve in the midst of the boundless resources of a continent where at least one thousand millions could live a comfortable life.

Verily, in presence of such facts, if there is a man who dares say that all is right; that nothing is to be done except to go on as we have done thus far—well, let him stand up and say it, and forfeit at the same time all claim to sanity and good sense.

Of all the cants of school and mob, none, perhaps, has been so dangerous so baleful as this much-boasted theory that the State must not legislate in matters economical. In the name of all that is reasonable, will these doctrinaires mention one law which the State can make without interfering with the economical world? When you pass a law for the construction of a railroad, when you regulate mail transportation, when you levy a tax, when you impose a tariff or take it away, when you make a war, when you negotiate a peace, when you sign a treaty of commerce, do these things influence the economical world, or do they not? Nay, can you tell whether even a law on public education does not deeply, although remotely, influence the economical world?

How is it, then, that this nonsensical cant of State non-interference in economic matters has so long prevailed, and is still blinding some students of economy? No other reason can be found, I think, but this. Formerly governments used to interfere bluntly, blindly, with prices and wages. They simply legislated how much bread should be sold for, and what wages a carpenter or a tailor or a mason was to receive. Of course this policy was silly, and its effects were usually pernicious. It was just as senseless as it would be to pretend to check the spread of a contagious disease by fumigating the sick even to suffocation. The failure of such clumsy methods does

not imply that a community cannot check and even prevent a contagious disease. It can do it efficiently, with proper sanitary regulations. Some people, however, are not very careful in their deductions. Since the laws fixing wages and prices proved hurtful, they did not stop to inquire whether the State had no other way of influencing prices and wages, but jumped to the conclusion that the State must not meddle with the economical world in any way. This hollow sophism, as soon as promulgated, was promptly accepted by the leading classes, who found that it worked very well for them. Thus it has lasted up to our days, although it is easy to notice that not a single step the State can take without its * consequences rebounding more or less directly on the economical conditions of the community.

The State can adopt sanitary regulations even to prevent social diseases. We can not violate certain abstract principles of economics, which are simply logical truths; for instance, that the price of labor, as well as all other things, is regulated by the law of supply and demand. But we can influence the supply and demand, so that their relation, namely, prices, change. This we are continually doing. All our laws bring about a facility for, or a check in the production of certain commodities; therefore they alter their price. In the same way, we cannot violate the laws of gravitation, nor the laws of growth in the botanic

world; but we can, by proper means, turn a course of water which way we choose, and raise trees and flowers so different from their natural ancestors that it is difficult to recognize their kinship.

We may now inquire what are the sanitary regulations which can be introduced to ameliorate our social organism. All our economy rests on three elements—land, labor and capital. All our hygienical social legislation must, then, concern one of these three elements. Let us begin by the first.

VIII. LAND—LAND VALUES—PRIVATE PROPERTY AND PRIVATE POSSESSION.

IN relation to land, the first question we meet I with is, whether the community has any right to interfere with the present system of land-ownership. There are not a few, either feeble or narrow minded persons, to whom "what is" always represents "what must be," and to them the idea of interfereing with land property is simply sacrilegious. To them it appears that land has always. even from the beginning of the world, been held in the way in which we hold it now. I can not waste many words to confute this belief. I am not writing a catechism of political economy. But, to put it briefly, the fact is that land has not always been held as absolute private property. On the contrary, it has been demonstrated that this idea of absolute property is confined to certain • nations, and even with those it is of recent growth. [See, for instance, Sir H. S. Maine's "Village Communities," p. 158]. Finally, no one will claim that absolute private property in land is a divine institution. It is, then, a purely social one, and as such it is subject to the control of

society. Society can rule this as well as all other social phenomena. The question is reduced to this: Whether the effects of private land-ownership are so good, so beneficial, as to be above all impeachment? But how are we going to judge of its merits or demerits? We have just seen that the first requisite in every well-constituted society is a general diffusion of a moderate welfare; that nothing is so deleterious as the growth, side by side, of immoderate wealth and extreme want. Now, does it seem that private property in land is favoring a moderate and general diffusion of welfare? Very few, I think, would dare answer affirmatively. This question has been so much discussed, however, and especially in these United States it has been so well ventilated that there is no need to dilate upon it. I will simply relate the opinions on this subject of two thinkers known for their moderation:

"The soil is, over the greater portion of the inhabited globe, cultivated by very humble men, with very little disposable wealth, and whose career is practically marked out for them by irresistible circumstances as tillers of the ground. In a contest between vast bodies of people so circumstanced and the owners of the soil—between the purchasers without reserve, constantly increasing in numbers, of an indispensable commodity, and the monopolist dealers in that commodity—the negotiation could have but one issue, that of transferring to the owners of the soil the whole produce, minus what was sufficient to maintain in the lowest state of existence the race of cultivators. This is what has happened wherever the owners of the soil, discarding all considerations but those dictated by self-interest, have really availed themselves of

the full strength of their position. * * * It is the inevitable result which can not but happen in the great majority of all societies now existing on earth, where land is given up to be dealt with on commercial principles, unqualified by public opinion, customs or law."—(J. E. CAIRNES, Fortnightly Review, January, 1870.)

"The large addition to the wealth of the country has gone neither to profits nor to wages, nor yet to the public at large, but to swell a fund ever growing, even while its proprietors sleep—the rent-roll of the owners of the soil."—(J. E. CAIRNES, "Leading Principles," p. 333).

"The English workmen earned all the wealth and bore nearly all the cost of the long Napoleonic wars, on which the fortunes of manufacturers and landowners were founded."—-(ROGERS, "Work and Wages").

As far as the United States are concerned, if we consider the natural opportunities and the boundless territory with which the nation has been blessed, it is not an exaggeration to say that the damage worked by private land ownership is monstrous. The beautiful dream of a numerous class of husbandmen, spread all over the country. toiling peacefully and hopefully for their families and rearing in comfortable independence the children of the Great Republic, has vanished. Everywhere in the scarcely opened regions of the West, monopoly and privilege are driving small farmers into a kind of villeinage. Farms are growing, in comparison with which the famous Latifundia which ruined Italy, dwindle into ridiculously small patches. Machinery and capital combine to crush the poor farmer out of existence.

The land which should supply with homes and. healthful work hundreds of families is turned into a huge farm-factory with no homes, no women, no church, no school, housing hundreds of laborers during the summer and turning them out, tramps on the road, when the harvest season is over. Greed, stimulated by the unusual opportunities, has bred gigantic peculations and monstrous monopolies. Lands have been deeded away where more than 100,000,000 people might live comfortably. [Let us take notice, in passing, that our friends the doctrinaires, who stick to the absolute non-interference of the State in social matters, had nothing to say when the land of a great empire, the property of the people, was so recklessly squandered]. In short, matters have come to such a point that, if they are not promptly redressed, this republic, instead of being the greatest advance made by human society, will collapse, a miserable failure.

In the East these pernicious effects are not a whit less visible. A large part of our wealth rests on the land values which are enormously increasing from year to year. We read every day of fabulous prices paid for land, which a few years ago was sold at a nominal price. It is not an arduous philosophical problem, but simply a matter of common-sense and a little disinterestedness to understand that this increase in land value is not in the least caused by the owner.

It is brought about by the community, and, in the name of all that is just, to the community it should belong. The importance of this principle, although simply a matter of common-sense, is enormous. If each community should appropriate to itself all land values: First, land speculation would be done away with. Second, every community where the people work would be so rich that no tax would be necessary, and all matters of public concern, as public education, transportation, mutual protection, insurance, etc., could be attended to far beyond what we dream of now. It is a problem which surely has to be settled, and the sooner it is, the better.

A. R. Wallace, in his project for land-nationalization in England, proposes that the government should take from the occupiers of the land a ground rent which he calls quit rent; and pay it over to the present owners and their heirs, for two or three generations. This scheme has several good features, but it would present so many practical difficulties, and it would take so many years, that it is hardly possible to expect it will ever come to be applied. It seems preferable that the community should buy the present land values at a fair price from the land owners. I shall explain hereafter why, in my judgment, this plan is preferable.

Henry George's plan of confiscating all land values without any compensation to land owners,

does not seem either legal or just. The reason for doing so, he finds in the fact that land-owners have no clear title to their property, that no man is entitled to what belongs to the community; that the land values, which they have enjoyed thus far, are stolen, and there is no prescription for robbery. Henry George's supporters quote also the case of slavery in the Southern States. The masters had enjoyed their possession for many years, but when the President of the United States proclaimed the slaves free, their property was lost, and rightly lost. The case, however, is not the same. The slaves were proclaimed free because their masters had rebelled against the laws of the country. It was merely by right of war, not by any power in the Constitution of the United States that Abraham Lincoln could declare the negroes free. Had the Southern States not fired against Fort Sumter, no president could have taken upon himself to sign such a decree.

As to saying that land owners have no clear title to their property, is playing with words. In the same way, nay, with greater strength we can say that no man has a clear title to the money he has made in running a mill and paying out as wages an amount inferior to the value of the work done by his operatives. By that superior moral justice which *should*, but does not, govern our society, all such manufacturers have far less of a title to their

possessions than a man who has invested honest money in buying land, has to his property. If we want to take away, without compensation, the property held by land-owners, we are in duty bound to confiscate also all money, stocks, bonds, etc., held by middle-men, stockbrokers, speculators, etc., who, without producing anything themselves, have got this money out of the honest toil of the people. This, however, can hardly be done without bringing upon society a revolution that would shatter it to pieces, and very likely, as is not unfrequently the case with revolutions, leave it to begin over again with the same privileges and abuses.

Besides, it is even a matter of greater expediency to give the land owners a fair compensation. If we start with this principle, that land owners are to be compensated, it is certainly possible to win a majority for the land-nationalization party sooner than by proposing an absolute confiscation. We must remember that with the rapid increase of land values in the United States, a few years' delay is practically at least as great an outlay as a fair compensation now.

Let us see how this scheme of buying back the land values would work. Each county should make an estimate of the land values of its own territory. Then the national or state government should buy these land values and pay for them. This payment could be made by issuing bonds

at 2 ¹/, or 3 per cent. The land value of the whole United States does not exceed \$10,000,000. The interest on this sum would not exceed \$300,000,000, but of course \$200,000,000 or more would be paid to the government by the occupiers of the land. In consequence the United States would have actually to pay not more than about \$100,000,000 interest on these bonds; in other words, for the redemption of the national soil the United States would have to pay about half the sum which France spends on her army and navy alone. At the same time let us take hold of these points:

First. These bonds would be disposed of very easily, perhaps, even at an interest less than 3 or 2¹/, per cent.; in fact, almost all European governments, already heavily indebted, find all the money they desire at three per cent. for unproductive investments, as army, navy, guns, etc. Certainly the United States government, the richest of all, would have no difficulty to find money for an investment which is most sure and most productive.

Second. Immediately from the day of the land nationalization, the increase in land values would belong to the people. These values increasing as rapidly as they do now, the income from them would be so great that in a few years the people would be able, if they so like, to redeem all bonds issued for this purpose. But there is reason to

believe that land values would then increase even more rapidly than now; because,

Third. What would the land owners do with the money thus received from the government? They would not invest in land "speculation" since the increase in land values would belong to the government. Therefore nothing would be left for them but to apply their money to land improvements or some branch of industry. Think of the enormous boon that this would prove to labor and the country in general! Think how general welfare and population would increase.

Fourth. It must be added that, while it is better for the sake of security, that the bonds for the redemption of land are issued by the national government, each state or county should be authorized to regulate the management and leasing of its own land.

I notice that many conservative papers and people have almost no other argument against Henry George's scheme, except that they call it robbery, because it proposes taxation of the whole land values without compensation. A scheme which contemplates a fair compensation to the present land-owners would immediately swell the ranks of the reform party and drive land-holders and their supporters from every other position but greed and selfishness.

To redress a social wrong it is ever advisable to come to a peaceful settlement when it is pos-

sible. I am sure the Northern States would have found it cheaper to pay a fair price for the redemption of the negroes than to go to war. The Southern States are, no doubt, of the same opinion. The effects of appropriating to the community the increasing land values are so justly and greatly advantageous, even if a fair price is to be paid for their present values, that no means should be left untried which might hasten the completion of this fact even by a few years. Certainly not even Henry George and his followers can be so sanguine as to hope soon to have a party strong enough to enact the proposed confiscation of land values. On the other hand, the cost of buying back the ground value from private owners would practically amount to so little, and the advantages are so great, that there seems no reason why it should not be preferred in order to accelerate by some years its realization and to ward off that accusation of robbery with which the scheme of confiscation of land values has been branded. Of course it would be waste of time to confute the silly denunciations of people who will neither read nor learn. and think that land-nationalization means cultivation of land in common, or abolition of rent, or division of land into equal lots among the citizens. Land-nationalization means simply that the ground rent must be paid to the community, not to any private citizen. This is the whole in a

nut-shell. If there are people who fail to understand the justice and at the same time the immense reach of this change let them read any good treatise of political economy, or, better still, let them look around at what is going on in their cities, or villages, and think it out for themselves.

The opening up of land to labor, the abolition of monopoly in that on which all labor rests, is a step toward the solution of our social problems whose cardinal importance none can belittle or deny.

In all the phenomena of our social life this cancer reveals itself everywhere. It must and surely will be cured, whether by the knife or physic. I have indicated a remedy by which it can be blotted out without any caustic operation. These operations may be good, but too often they endanger the life of the patient.

In the meantime, while we are preparing to open a new source for the application of labor, several important improvements can be brought into the methods with which labor is now applied. Let us consider this subject briefly.

IX. LABOR.—COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION. —WASTE OF LABOR.—WAGE SYSTEM.

OUR system of labor is founded entirely on competition; the advantages of which no one will deny. Nothing like free competition can bring forth that strong individualism to which our civilization owes so much. Still, no commander would leave his soldiers entirely free to compete with each other in valor and daring, Such an unlimited competition would certainly stimulate to heroic deeds, and brave soldiers would not shrink from any thing in order to win distinction and promotion. But who can doubt that the useful effect of the whole army would be less than it is now, when individual courage and daring are checked by discipline? Nor would a manufacturer or merchant allow his clerks and operatives to work the best they can; because even if some of them should do more than now, on the whole this way of conducting business would not pay him. On the other side, it would not do for him, by red-tape and nonsensical limitations so to hamper their liberty that none dare do any thing of their own idea, least they might do wrong. Likewise a family, where every

member acts and spends as he pleases, can hardly be prosperous and happy; nor is that family to be envied where wife and children are so bound by the authority of the head that none dare take a step or say a word without his formal permission. In short, wherever we look, we see that liberty, free competition is useful, but must not be alone; it must always be accompanied and disciplined by a certain amount of organization, or co-ordination to a certain aim; in other words, of co-operation.

It is hard to understand how a system of unlimited competition which does not work well in the conduct of any single business, should be expected to work to perfection with society at large. Not competition alone, but competition enough to bring forth individual capabilities, together with organization or co-operation enough to mold these forces to a common aim; this is the ideal which we should strive to reach.

Competition, as it works to-day in our society, is not free from some grave faults.

First. It is not just to that fundamental principle of our civilization, which regards all human life as sacred, and therefore as entitled to the best opportunities for its development. Is it just, in a competition for a running prize, to start a vigorous, well trained, stalwart youth side by side with a poor boy hampered by all sorts of clogs and difficulties? How then can society, consistently

with justice, start in a race for industrial free (!) competition a man backed by wealth, education and influence, side by side with another who has not one of these equipments, not even instruction enough to discern when he is on the right track or not? Indeed, we can only justify such a proceeding by proclaiming that society has no duty of the kind, that no class of citizens owes the others any-thing, that our society is and must continue in a state of war in which the strong take care of themselves, and the weaklings go under. Undoubtedly we can say so, and this is the kind . of philosophy which is constantly preached from some chairs, and with which some grave editorials overflow. But then let us burn our gospel, let us shut up our churches, make a bonfire of our Constitution and proclaim that our political platforms, our religion, our civilization are a sham and a lie. It is not true that human life is sacred: it is not true that the child born in the Five Points has a soul entitled to be developed and educated, and given opportunities to lead a full and noble life. These rights are vested only in those who can pay for them, whether their money has been honestly won by toil or rapidly heaped up by clever and not over-pure speculations. Of course, we can say all this; but, again, let us be logical and carry our premises to their last consequences. If we admit that the wealthy owe the poor nothing; if we proclaim that the normal state of our society is a state of war, then we must not complain when war is accepted by the poor and fought to the bitter end. Indeed, there are no worse anarchists than these pseudo-philosophers, who from chairs and books and ponderous editorials proclaim that the government of a community has nothing to do with the economic problem, and no class of citizens owes any thing to the other.

Second. As must be expected from every thing unjust, the tendencies of our present system of reckless competition are deeply demoralizing. It tends toward developing greed, selfishness, and indifference to other people's ills, at the expense of those altruistic tendencies of which alone true civilization is made. What is worse, these narrowing and debasing tendencies are consecrated as scientific principles by a school which proclaims that humanity has nothing to do with political economy; that neither society nor individuals can interfere with the law of supply and demand.

Third. Beside being unjust, our system of competition is not useful. Just as in a family or business, where every body works independently according to his whim, there is a great amount of disorder and waste, so our present system of competition causes an appalling waste of labor.

To simplify matters, we must first inquire, what is useful labor? People generally think they have "usefully" employed their time when they have done some work for which they have re-

ceived or expect to receive pay. This is not only a narrow but an entirely false idea of judging of the usefulness of one's labor. It is the "ovster view of the world." Many kinds of labor are paid for, which have no element of usefulness. If I pay a man to walk my dog up and down the street, it may be regarded as a useful work by the man who receives the pay, but certainly no moral or material good comes from the occupation. That alone is useful which preserves or increases the material or moral welfare of man. same way, among nations, from an individual point of view, standing armies may be regarded as useful, since they are the defense of the country. But judging from the higher standpoint of the interests of mankind, those armies not only are not useful, but they are a calamity, as they eat up the savings of the poor toilers and help to keep up a feeling of animosity between neighboring nations. Just as political competition and jealousy between nations bring about so great a waste of time, money and human life, as we witness to-day in Europe; the same pernicious effect is caused by our unchecked industrial competition. We can say more. The loss caused by standing armies is nothing when compared with the daily loss of time and labor, of brain and mind, brought about by the present economic system. We have waste in the production of wealth, waste in its circulation, waste in its consumption.

As to the production of wealth, how many people in these United States are engaged in a really useful occupation? We have:

- A. A great number of men employed as operatives or directors in agricultural or industrial or professional pursuits, which are really useful to the community. The proportion of these useful workers to the whole of the population is greater in the United States than in Europe. It is, however, to be noticed that with the great increase of wealth on one side and poverty on the other, the number of men either idle or busy at a useless occupation is rapidly increasing also in the United States.
- B. A great number of working men are employed in manufacturing tobacco or spirits. These not only do not accomplish any useful work, but their products are mostly pernicious.
- C. We have a great number of private and public servants. These are put together not without cause. Public servants are useful when they are charged with a necessary work, and their number is not greater than the work requires. The United States, in this respect, are far better off than any government in Europe, where with standing armies, courts, aristocracies and endless red-tape, the number of men who receive pay from the public treasury without any return of really useful work, is enormous. Still, even in the United States, some reduction might be made, especially

if taxation should be so reformed as not to require an army of men for its collection. All the Custom-House officers, for instance, could be done away with, thereby subtracting an incentive to political corruption.

Likewise, private servants are useful, in so far as they are employed on a necessary work, i.e., when, by attending to some humble but necessary occupation, they save time for a man or woman of greater intelligence and experience to do some higher kind of work. In such case their labor is really useful to the community. They are like the faithful squire of old, who did menial work for his knight, so that he might give all his time and thoughts to the welfare of the army and lead it to victory. But when a servant is only put to work that a woman may remain idle or go shopping, then no useful result comes to the community. Then two persons are required to do a work which one should do. There is one person who claims to be supported without doing useful work. It is also evident that if a lady wants a maid to comb her hair, another to take care of her wardrobe, another to accompany her in her walks, four or five men to keep her horses, and one to keep her dogs, the waste of labor is considerably greater. This is one, only one, instance of the waste entailed by excessive wealth.

D. Another feature connected with our system of unchecked competition is the enormous number.

of traders and middle-men that feed, like a parasitic growth, on the community. Here we have some interesting figures:

"In 1866 the number of traders is shown to be 160,303, being I to every 222 inhabitants, or every 37 of our voting population. In 1867 the number had risen to 205,000, being I to every 177 inhabitants, or every 20 voters. In 1870 it was 427,292, being I trader to every 80 inhabitants, or every 15 voters; and in 1878 they had increased to 674,741, being I to every 72 inhabitants, or every 12 voters; and in 1882 the number of traders, reckoning each trading company or house as one trader, had reached 852,-256, being I to every 61 inhabitants, or I to every 10 voters. It must be noted that in this statement is given only the number of business houses that have sufficient business importance to appear on the books of Messrs. R. G. Dunn & Co., and that, on an average, each business concern has at least two members, some having a dozen or more. But we will say two, which give 1,704,512 persons, or one in every six of our voting population, engaged in notable trade, leaving out of the amount the host of petty traders. brokers, bankers, stock jobbers or gamblers, speculators, those in real estate and insurance, as well as accountants, clerks, salesmen, etc., here unconsidered, that must amount to nearly or quite an equal number, making fully one-fourth of our people engaged in pursuits that are in no sense productive."-Moody, ("Land and Labor," p. 192-93).

Some economists say that the middle-man is doing a useful work for society, since it brings goods within the reach of the consumer, thus saving him the trouble of going to fetch them himself. But here we meet again the same difficulty as with private and public servants. As long as the number of middle-men is not beyond what is required by the convenience of the community, they are doing useful work. But they

become a nuisance and a waste as soon as their number exceeds such wants. The cities of the United States have been converted into long, monotonous lines of shops and stores, where nothing is produced, where numberless people are making their living by levying tolls on the exchange of merchandise. Beside the economical waste, there is nothing so debasing to character as this retail business. The wholesale merchant deals with people who know what they are buying, therefore fraud is not easy and the profits are generally reduced to a small percentage. The retail seller, on the contrary, generally deals with people who do not know any thing about the merchandise, and even less about the tricks by which an inferior quality can be made to show equal to a good one. This ignorance of the buyer, together with the break-neck competition of multitudinous rivals, encourages fraud and lying. Read the advertisements and the signs of the retail stores in our cities, and you must conclude that most of them are either bankrupt, or sellers of stolen goods, or liars.

E. Another evil connected with competition, and especially with competitive trade, is the abuse of advertising. It is impossible to calculate the amount of time, ingenuity, imbecility and brazenfaced mendacity which is taken up by American advertising. Whatever the useful effect of all this may be, in order to direct a man to this or

that store, it is self-evident that for the community it is a labor entirely lost, with scarcely any other result but its demoralizing influence.

Now if we look back at this little synopsis of the production of wealth in our economical system, we may gather that (A) are the only workers who do something useful and produce the entire wealth of the community. A great part of (C) and the large majority of (B), (D), (E) are doing either a useless or a pernicious work, and all of them are supported by the work of (A).

If we turn now to look at the way in which wealth is consumed, the waste is also beyond calculation.

First. We may consider as waste the greatest part of the profits of middle-men. We may form an idea of what we pay for this brokerage by observing that a bushel of wheat, for which the American farmer receives seventy cents, costs \$1.50 to the consumer in Liverpool. Think what other charges are added to it before it is consumed as bread!

Second. No one can calculate the amount of waste produced by ignorance. Our people are not trained to cook their food properly, nor to take care of their clothes, of their fuel, of their furniture, of their houses. I heard a good physician and chemist maintain that, generally, a family of five consume as much as, carefully man-

aged, would afford the same amount of comfort to a family of ten.

Third. Almost as great is the waste caused by great wealth, because this fosters extravagant habits which are as useless as they are luxurious. *

Finally, intimately connected with the system of industrial competition is the wage system. No need to dwell on the waste which is brought about by this system, especially for the reason that the workingman has no personal interest in his work; nor on the wrong entailed upon the laborer, as, all means of production being in the hands of capital, labor can not have a fair share in the advantages accru, ing to society out of the wonderful improvements which are being daily introduced. This waste and wrong have been dwelt upon by many, and have become in the eyes of those who reason unselfishly a truism. But there is another feature connected with the wage system, which, although of the greatest importance, has scarcely been

^{* &}quot;If we could reckon up the amount of human labor, physical and mental, expended on jewelry and fancy goods, on costly toys or elaborate displays of clothing and equipage, on horse racing and yachting, on luxurious dinners and fashionable entertainments, we should arrive at an enormous sum total of wasted labor, energy and talent, all of which is positively injurious to the productive workers, since it is they who have to support by their ill-paid labor, not only the rich individually, but also that vast array of servants, artisans and laborers, who, in so many varied ways, minister to their luxuries, their pleasures, or their vices."

⁻ALFRED R. WALLACE, "Land-Nationalization," p. 16.

noticed. We can see here once more the proof of the fact that all social wrong, as well as all social good, falls back upon society at large. With the present wage system, when a capitalist wants to employ labor, he tries to get it as cheap as possible. Were he of so humane a disposition as to pay for it as much as he can above the market price, he would soon be undersold by his less scrupulous competitors. Besides, our friends, the political economists, would warn him that his humanity is mere silliness, that man can not interfere with the law of supply and demand, that he has to buy labor just as he does coal, namely, in the cheapest market. Let us see what are the consequences of this system, which is now almost universal. Suppose that a village produces altogether \$300,000 worth of goods, namely, this is what the producers expect to receive in return for their goods. Labor receives, let us say \$200,000. This is also what labor can afford to spend. Who, then, will consume the other \$100,000? We may suppose that capitalists themselves will consume a part, say one-fifth of it, which is a great deal, speaking of substantial goods of which a rich man can not consume much more than a poor man. Thus there would be about \$80,000 worth of goods left. Who will buy these? One might answer that they will be exported to other villages or towns. But in these also it is just the same thing that is happening:

goods are being produced above the means of the What becomes of this excess of goods? The most are left to accumulate, always in the hope of better chances. By and by the wholesale magazines, as well as the retail stores, are filled; the manufacturer can not sell: the wheels of commerce are clogged, and what we call a crisis sets in. Then mills are shut down. and people are compelled to live on the savings of the preceding years, or beg. By and by the surplus which glutted our stores is eaten up, demands for goods increase, commerce quickens, mills are reopened, better times begin. A few years of rapid production bring about a new excess of products over the purchasing power of the consumers, and consequently we have another crisis, followed some time later by a new boom, and so on, over and over again. This is the Sisyphus work which is being done by our society. As the producers form also the bulk of the consumers. it is as clear as day light that safe production can not exceed their means of consumption. Hence the lower the income of labor, the lower must be the production. If a mill owner should produce only for the consumption of his operatives, evidently his production would be limited by his own personal consumption and by the purchasing power of the money his operatives receive. This is substantially what happens to-day; only the production of each manufacturer is consumed partly by

his and partly by others' operatives. The lines are intermingled, but the fundamental fact is not changed.

This disproportion between the power of production and that of consumption in the mass of our population is at the bottom of our periodical commercial crises. It is made possible only through the monopolization of land and the means of production by the few. It is evident that this disproportion must grow more and more with the increase of machinery and other improvements, as long as these are in the hands of the few. In fact while through these improvements the power of production increases a thousand fold, the relative power of consumption decreases. If once it took thirty men to weave a certain number of yards of cloth which now can be woven by one man, it is evident that, even with increased wages, the consumptive power of the present producer is relatively smaller than formerly.

These, then, are the prominent features of our present competitive system: fundamental injustice; development of selfish and check of altruistic tendencies, want of direction and therefore disorganization of industry with the necessary consequence of useless labor and wastefulness; disproportion of productive and consumptive power in the masses, with necessary periodical crises. These are not superficial or occasional excrescences of the system; they are its necessary out-

growth. We can not hope to redress them except by remedies which go deep into the nature of the system itself. Is there a remedy? No other, I think, but gradual substitution of co-operation in the place of competition. The fundamental features of coöperation, as compared with competition, are these:

First. It greatly diminishes the risks and the waste; (a) because it has a more certain constituency of consumers. As a rule, with the competition system, a man who enters a business, whether for selling or manufacturing, enters it somewhat as a kind of lottery. He does not know how much and how long his article will be needed. He invests his money and takes his chances. A co-operative business, on the contrary, can, from the very beginning, count on a sure custom, after which it can regulate its purchases and expenses. There is, therefore, less risk and less waste, Between a competitive and a co-operative business, there is the same difference as between a publisher who starts a paper hoping to find buyers for it, and a publisher who starts a paper with a sufficient number of subscriptions already paid in. This advantage is more immediately felt by cooperative consuming societies, but, as the system grows and expands, also co-operative producing societies would feel it, since they would supply co-operative consuming societies and know almost to a certainty how much they must pro-

duce. (b). Another great cause of waste would be removed by the fact that every workman would have a personal interest in the good management of the business. Every manufacturer can testify to the enormous amount of time and goods which are wasted with our present system, where a workingman has no personal interest beyond his wages. All those who have tried co-operation are emphatic in speaking of the thrift, energy and carefulness displayed by all the operatives. In fact, why should it not be so? Workingmen are precisely of the same stuff as capitalists; they are thrifty and careful of that in which they have a personal interest at stake. (c) Co-operation would suppress at least nine-tenths of the present middlemen. One store would be enough where now there are ten or twenty. An agent would buy directly of the factories for a hundred stores or more. The middle-men would have to go to work or starve. Let us be emphatic on the benefit of this change; the number of the true producers would be increased, that of the idle or unproductively busy would be diminished, and the consumer would get his goods at very near the cost of production, not with an addition of 20, 30 or 100 per cent, as is now the case.

Second. The workingman, being interested in the profits of the business, would get a greater share of the value of his production. In proportion as the production increases, his earnings increase; in

other words, as he advances in productive power, he advances also in power of consumption. In this way the power of consumption of a community would be far nearer to its power of production than it is now. Hence, products would be consumed with the same regularity and proportion as they are produced. Hence those accumulations of products would be avoided, which now cause our periodical stagnations of business, and are one of the worst features of the competitive system.

Third. Again, the workingman, sharing the profits of production, becomes a sharer of the advantages of machinery and improvements. The greater the savings of time and money made by means of a new machine, the greater then would be the advantage accruing to the workingman. This would almost entirely abolish that monopoly in the means of production which we deplore in the present system. Only one other kind of monopoly would remain; that in land and natural resources, which has already been spoken of.

Fourth. It follows that co-operation makes for a general diffusion of wealth, whilst competition promotes its concentration. This is an enormous advantage, as only that is a nation of men, where all enjoy a moderate welfare which allows them opportunities for the development of their manhood. Again, diffusion of wealth prevents a great deal of waste, as the consumption consists then,

more especially of useful and substantial goods, while concentration of wealth diminishes the consumption of necessary articles and increases that of things useless and luxurious. It increases also the number of men employed on useless labor. Where the masses are very poor, as in certain parts of Europe, a man of very moderate means can and will keep half a dozen servants with liveries, etc., whilst in a country where wealth is more diffused, as in these United States, he would scarcely be able to keep one. These numerous servants do not produce any useful thing worth mentioning. Who then supports them? Who works to earn the daily bread which they eat and do not earn? The poor toiling masses. It is a continual log-rolling. In the economic, as well as in any other system, an evil tendency goes on increasing more and more, and if the remedy is delayed for a generation, the evil results are a hundred times greater and more difficult to redress.

Fifth. Finally, co-operation affords one of the best social, moral and industrial trainings. It teaches discipline and self-control, and shows the value of leadership at the same time that it stimulates and leaves room for individual exertion. It adds a wholesome sense of social and individual responsibility. It develops altruistic tendencies. Checkless competition breeds hatred and selfishness; co-operation is a school of trust and good-fellowship.

Can co-operation be successful? No one can answer, no, unless he gives up all faith in human nature and all hope of progress and development. It is hard to understand how people, who believe that such an enormous co-operative institution can be carried on safely as a democratic government with universal suffrage, are ready to deny that a small number of men, mostly known to each other, can carry on a co-operative job which, comparatively, is of microscopic importance. Besides, have we not countless joint-stock companies that direct their business prosperously? Joint-stock companies are managed by officers chosen by the shareholders. In the same way, though the basis of election be different, co-operative companies can be managed equally well, with this advantage, as far as consumers' co-operative societies are concerned, that they start business on a certainty, not on speculation.

Co-operation should begin with consumption, as this is the easiest step. This kind of co-operation has been very successful in several countries, but especially so in England. Still, there too, co-operation is but in its infancy. The world has no idea yet of what co-operation can do, even in its elementary form, as consumers' co-operation. If developed to a certain extent, it would change the aspect of our cities. In fact, out of twenty stores, nineteen at least would have to be closed, as only a few magazines here and there would be

Hence, more room would be left for necessary. There would be far less need of havdwellings. ing central places for business: co-operative magazines would buy through their agents, wherever it is cheapest. Hence houses would be more scattered, with the result of having more wholesome dwellings and cheaper rent. The enormous amount of money, time, labor and ingenuity, which is now consumed in showing off goods and fishing for buyers, would be mostly done away with; all this labor could be more profitably spent in adorning our homes, or in other useful work, rather than in arranging show windows and advertising. It is also evident that co-operative sale would promote the sale of good, wholesome and honestly-made articles. It would discourage fraud and adulteration, and tend to substitute, in industry and commerce, honesty and skill in the place of trickery.

Immediately after consumers' societies, we must have productive co-operation. The greatest examples of this kind of co-operation are to be seen in France, Germany and Italy. In the United States we have had nothing yet to compare with France in this line. Still, more has been done than is commonly supposed [See H. Newton's "Social Studies"]. It is true that many of them have failed, but the amount and significance of these failures have been unduly exaggerated. It has been stated and repeated, that out of 100 men

that go into business, 95 are unsuccessful. Although co-operative production is a new departure in our industrial life, its success can surely be shown to have been greater than that. The principal reason why co-operation has not thriven, thus far, in the United States, is because the nation has been unusually prosperous. People have not come to care yet for small savings and sure but slow progress; the majority of Americans still hope to become millionaires in a few years. There is a great deal of truth in the words which Mr. Collyer used welcoming George Jacob Holvoake to New York: "We have been altogether too comfortable hitherto to do much in co-operation, but, by and by, we will show you the biggest thing out in this line" [H. Newton, "Social Studies," page 129].

Co-operative stores should not work entirely apart from co-operative mills, but should go hand in hand. Co-operation in one form is the natural ally of co-operation in all other forms. If workingmen are going to apply any boycott, let them apply it here in a form which is useful as well as legal and just. Let co-operative stores buy of co-operative mills. Should they even have to pay a certain percentage more for their goods, it would pay them to help keep up co-operation in production until it grows strong enough to kill all capitalistic production.

In the same way, not only production and con-

sumption, but transportation, should be co-operative. Here the easiest and most satisfactory way to co-operation would be to put the means of transportation in the Ifands of the community. It will not be long, I vouch, before America will see the necessity of having her great lines of railroads, canals and telegraphs in the hands of the community, as they are in Europe. The monstrous power for evil of these gigantic monopolies is visible in all public American life; still their present power is a trifle compared with what it would be forty or fifty years hence, when America will be more thickly peopled and railroads assume a far greater importance. Many are afraid of official corruption, should the roads belong to the government. At all events, it is safer that railroads should belong to the government than the government to the railroads. But there is no necessity that the government should run the roads itself. What is necessary, is that they belong to the community and their administration be controlled by it. We have found it necessary to control gas companies, life and fire insurance companies, and then we leave all means of transportation, which is to the community that which the blood system is to our organism, in the hands of a few capitalists and speculators.

Besides co-operation in consumption, production and transportation, it is rather surprising that no one has ever spoken of the necessity of co-opera-

tion in that on which all production and transportation rest namely, in the preparation of labor. If society should work on a co-operative plan, the necessity of good and numerous institutions for the training of mechanical labor would be clear to all. Every body then would feel the truth of the fact, now befogged by blind competition, that the greater the number of well-trained workers, the greater the amount of wealth produced, and therefore the greater the welfare of the country. In this training, in which the whole community should join, all nations, in Europe and America, are thus far shamefully deficient. But America's fault is greater, as it claims to be, and in many points it is, at the head of the new civilization. The foolish, and in this respect entirely barbarous, governments of Europe call out all their valid men, and, for three or five years, train them carefully, at public expense, in the deadly industry of war; and this great republic, which has asserted as her ideal the rearing of men and the foundation of happy homes, this apostle of peaceful work, what has she done in order to train her children in the arts of peace? Much, if compared with Europe, but very little, indeed, if compared with what should be; if compared with what other less happy nations are doing for the training of soldiers. There is no reason why every community, town and village should not see to it that every American child be trained,

not only to read and write, but to a trade, and supported by the community while he is learning it, if his family can not support him. No money can be better invested than in this training of labor. If a community can train its men for war, why shall it not do the same for the more useful and productive arts of peace? It is to be expected that our friends, the political economists, will shout against "socialism," "communism," "violation of economic laws," etc., etc. But we may notice that the same learned, wise and deep economists have nothing to say when the European governments undertake even greater expenses in order to drill their subjects for war.

Another and very important form of co-operation can be applied to life insurance.

One of the great signs of the times is the gigantic development of insurance societies under various forms. The principle which underlies this development is one of the most wholesome and useful: namely, every evil, be it ever so great, can be reduced almost to naught when divided into infinitesimal shares. A heavy stone that falls from a roof will surely kill me, if it falls upon my head. But if I can divide its impulsive force among ten thousand heads, then its result will not be noticed any more than the fall of a little dust.

Great as its achievements are, insurance is just

started in its career, and it is safe to say that its results in the next century will by far exceed all that has been done. There is one important form of insurance which has hardly begun to be applied. The main purpose of our life insurance is to relieve the distress eventually arising from death, sickness, old age, a fall, or some other accident. In other words, they do in a certain sense that which hospitals, houses of refuge, asylums and similar charitable institutions are wont to do for the poor and unfortunate. Insurance should also be employed to do that which hygienical conditions and sanitary regulations try to do for the health of the community. Insurance should be applied not only to help a man in sickness and old age, but also and chiefly to give him a good start in life, to give him opportunities to live a stronger, richer, better life. Insurance, as well as hygiene, should be "preventive." No doubt it is good that a poor man, in his old age, find a charitat'e refuge where to shelter his tottering body and live his last years in peace and free from need; or that some insurance company or benevolent society help him along until his hour comes. But what would have become of that man if he had been helped, not at the closing, but at the beginning of his career, just when he was starting for his hard struggle for life? If, when he was, say, twenty years old, that man had received a little capital to enable him to make the most of his strength and intelligence, is it not likely that now, instead of needing support, he would be in a state to help others?

I read somewhere that the founder of the Astor family had the greatest difficulty to make his first thousand dollars, but the rest came almost by itself. This agrees with the experience of every day. It would, then, be a momentous improvement if we could so provide that all the children, even of the poorest, should have, when twenty years old, a little capital to start with. I say "when twenty years old," because after that age, as a rule, it would be too late, and before it would be too soon, as the money might be too easily thrown away with the reckless optimism of youth and boyhood.

The problem is to find a practical way by which each parish, or ward, or village, can provide for its own boys and girls a small capital to start with when they are twenty years old. From Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics" (London 1884) I find that the average yearly birth-rate in the principal countries of the world, for the twenty years 1861-1880, is 35.3 per 1000 inhabitants. The calculations of Dr. Farr for England and Wales (Whitaker's Almanac, 1884, page 267) show that, as an average, out of 100 people 33.725 (fully one-third) die before reaching their twentieth year.

If when a child is born we invest in its name,

let us say \$300; when the child is twenty years old the \$300, at 5 per cent, will have become about \$850.

These \$300, however, can be deposited with an Insurance company, with this compact that the company shall not pay any thing if the child dies before it is twenty years old. It is evident that if the child grows to be twenty years old, the the company shall have to pay, not only \$850, but about one third more, as there is one probability to three that the child will not reach twenty years. The child then, if it lives to be twenty, would receive \$850+one third 850—\$1,133,33, or let us say about \$1,100.

A village of 2,500 people—about 500 families has yearly about 88 births, according to the average birth-rate of 35.3 per 1000 inhabitants. Of these 88 children we can fairly assume that onehalf, perhaps more, belong to families that are well off or at least so situated as to be able to provide for their education and leave them in a condition far above destitution. But let us suppose that only forty of them are in such condition, and the other 48 belong to very poor families. out of those 500 families are willing to pay ten cents a day, their contributions will amount in a year to \$14.600, which can pay \$300 for each of those 48 children. All of these, on reaching their twentieth year, would receive \$1,100. It may be that not 400 families are able to pay the ten cents a day; but not a few are likely able and willing to pay a quarter and more.

If this scheme should be applied to the whole of the United States, we would have the following results: Taking the population at about fifty-five millions, the yearly births are nearly two millions. Out of these fifty-five millions, fifteen millions, we may suppose, are not able to contribute a single cent. If the other forty millions will give two cents a day, they would give in one year two hundred and ninety-two million dollars, which pays two hundred and ninety-two dollars for a million children, a number which certainly includes all the children of the very poor. These two cents a day would endow with about one thousand dollars every poor child born in the land.

During the first twenty years the people would not be without reward for their little sacrifice of two cents a day. The insurance companies could not keep this money hidden in their safes, nor throw it away. They would be obliged to find for it some profitable investment. Thus every year \$292,000,000, and in twenty years nearly \$6,000,000,000,000, would go to swell the industries of the country. Afterwards, more than half a million small capitalists would each year be added to the social body. The smallness of their capital would, at the same time, give a boom to the spirit of co-operation. Another too, and higher kind of partnership would be greatly encouraged. As

both boys and girls would receive their little endowment at twenty, thousands of lives would be made happy, and thousands of happy homes would be built by the joining of two hearts as well as of two little fortunes. Should the intimate history of each life be known, it would teach us that the world would be better than it is, if every man and woman had had at the start some means to enable them to avail themselves of their aptitudes and capabilities.

In almost all the old world the boy looks with fear and trepidation at the approach of his twentieth year, when he shall be torn from the people he loves, dragged from his home to a life of sorrow, hard and dreary. Here, or wherever else a similar scheme were applied, every boy and girl would greet with leaping heart the coming of their twentieth year, the year of promise, the beginning of a fuller life. Sure of this, they would take better care of themselves, they would improve their mind and craft in order to be able to make the most with the capital they are going to receive. the value of which they are in a better state to appreciate, as they have closely seen want and destitution. Conscious that their helpless childhood has been generously thought of and cared for by an enlightened and philanthropic society, they would—as such is the nature of the human heart that then it is most inclined to believe in

goodness and generousness when it feels their effects—they would bring into the social body a great sum of good-will, of trust and optimism, of which we are sadly in need.

In short, from whatever side we look at the results, they appear to be great—so great that no amount of sacrifice required should frighten us from the undertaking. But as a matter of fact, no sacrifice is required, if only the majority of the people, either spontaneously and singly, or through the agency of governments, will co-operate in this scheme. Other nations, not so rich as the United States, are compulsorily laboring under far greater burdens than the two daily cents, which about twothirds of this people would have to contribute. For her army and navy France is now expending more than \$160,000,000 a year, a sum large enough to pay \$300 for about 530,000 children, which is a great deal more than half the children born yearly from her people. England is annually paying to her court, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts and barons \$543,073,150, almost twice as much as it is required to apply our scheme to all the children born in the United States.

There will be objections to some of the figures that have been given. This, however, is a matter of minor import. Naturally, the results would vary according to the rate of interest and the ways in which the scheme is carried through; but,

in the main, they would be such as have been detailed. The essential is that insurance should be "preventive" as well as "curative." It can be used with greater advantage to help a man at the start, than at the close of his earthly career.

X. TAXATION—RIGHT OF TAXATION—NATURE OF WEALTH—SUCCESSION.

I might now be asked by what means the community can provide for the careful training of labor, encourage co-operation, and accomplish all the various tasks which are now being demanded more and more of it. This leads us to consider briefly the subject of taxation.

First, we must remember that should land tenure be so arranged that the land values go to the community, no taxation would, very likely. be necessary. With the increase of population and wealth, land values increase so much that all the wants of a well-regulated community might be easily met. These values can also be easily ascertained, and scarcely any fraud would be possible. But as long as land and land values remain in private hands, some kind of taxation is necessary. How does America fare in this respect? The American republic, in this respect, is democratic only in words. Its system of taxation is as iniquitous to the people as the average system of European monarchies. The bulk of the income of the United States Government is derived from indirect taxation. Indirect taxation, it is admitted even by the most conservative authorities, carries out the taxation of labor. If you want to tax capital, there is no other way but to tax it directly. But now capital can transform itself and change hands so rapidly that it is difficult to locate it and tax it with justice and certainty. There is, however, one change in which one may more easily catch and strike this Proteus with more certainty and more justice, namely, when its holder departs from our society and leaves behind him that portion of wealth which he had appropriated unto himself.

In a case of succession, it is by obvious reasons not difficult to ascertain the amount of one's wealth. It seems also more humane to appropriate to the community a part of a citizen's wealth only after he has enjoyed it all his life. Men thrive and work all their lives for the sake of acquiring a skill, a science, an art which they are certain they will not be able to enjoy or to leave to any body after their death. It is not illogical, it is simply natural to suppose that it is also less grievous for any body to part with a share of his wealth when he is not able to use it any longer. Nor can it be objected that the departing one would have his last hours embittered by anxiety lest his dear ones should be left destitute. The appropriation, however large, by the community would never make a family destitute. for justice' sake and for the policy of fostering a

general diffusion of welfare, this taxation should be decidedly progressive, leaving small estates untouched, and taking most from the largest.

Against this kind of taxation many owners will object. They will call it a confiscation, or violation of the sacred rights of property. It is strange, as we remarked elsewhere, to see how property has got the upper hand over human life. Ask of a father three of his four children for the sake of the community, and he is ready to give them, even if the cause which they are called out to defend is worthless. But if you ask him to give up half of his property, even when the other half leaves him well enough off, he rebels at once. Why is this? It cannot be explained but through the intense selfishness and ignorance of men.

At all events, let us see what these sacred rights of private property are, and whether the community has also any rights in it or not. We say that a man has made his money—his fortune. But how can a man make his money or his fortune? I do not intend to speak here of fortunes dishonestly made, to which nobody should have a clear title. I speak of the best estates, made by honest work, intelligence and self-denial. Even under such circumstances, what would the efforts of an individual amount to, without the aid and the opportunities given by the community at large? A lawyer can be great in his profession, untiring

in his efforts; but where are his big fees to come from if the community where he lives is poor, and the amounts involved in litigations are therefore necessarily small? Take the greatest jurist of the world and put him in a small and poor village. He will be a great jurist all the same; perhaps he will even have more leisure to investigate the highest problems of law, but certainly he will not become rich; he will not "make money." The great engineer, the great architect, where and how can they build their great bridges, execute their grand plans, if the community is poor, and does not supply them with the necessary means? And the enterprising publisher, how can he sell his books if the community is not educated to read, and rich enough to buy books? And the manufacturer, how can he hope to sell his goods if others are not hard at work providing goods for which his can be exchanged? Nay, how could the lawyer, the engineer, the architect, the publisher and the manufacturer have learned their art or trade, if the community had not given them the means to learn it? It is, then, a very loose expression we use when we say that a man has made his fortune. A man makes simply the little which he personally produces; all the rest is made by society. By that expression we can only mean that a man, either on account of being clever, or fortunate or dishonest, has succeeded in appropriating to his own use a part of the wealth pro-

duced by society. Wealth is a social, not an individual product. Of the estate of any individual man, we can say that hardly one per cent. could have been produced by him without the aid of society; the other ninety-nine parts are due to the work of the community at large. How, then, can we talk of the sacred rights of property as if all that has gone into a man's purse were the product of the labor of that man, in which neither men, nor society, nor God have any right at all? And see how far this superstition of the sacredness of private property blinds all of us! We say that a man has a right in perpetuity to his property, because he has made it, he has produced it with his work. We have just seen that this is not true; that he has not made one-hundredth of it. But if there is any kind of property which is almost entirely created by the individual, it is literary or artistic property. Here, too, the community has the important credit of having supplied the elements of culture and civilization, without which the artist could not have made his work; outside of this, however, all is due to the artist himself. sculptor out of some clay or stone, the writer with some sheets of paper, produce a work which is worth thousands of dollars, besides its moral value, which can not be estimated by millions. The musician listens to the murmuring of the winds in the forest, to the sound of the brooklet. to the melodious surging of the sea, and, guided by his inspired genius, he creates a new world of sounds and sensations, a new world which adds inestimable joy and value to our life. These are true creators of their own products. Where is there another kind of production in which the individual has so great, a part, and society so little? Yet, our society which puts no limit to the absoluteness, perpetuity, intangibility, inviolability of the products of the manufacturer, the engineer, the shoemaker and the coal dealer, has limited the property of artists and writers in the products of their work to 28 years, and, under certain conditions, to 44. This is accepted by every one without grudging. Why then should there be such an outcry when society steps in to take a share in other kinds of wealth which, but for the help of society, could never have been produced?

The proportion of this share would be determined by circumstances and by the needs of the community; but it must be maintained that it should be progressive. Great fortunes are only made by turning to one's private advantage a great part of the wealth produced by the community; the greater the fortune, the greater are the advantages received from the community. It is fair, then, that also a greater share should be given back to the community. We need not fear that that this will check ambition and production. No

scientific ambition has ever been checked by the certainty that, at death, one can not leave his science to his legatees. Nor will ambition for money-making be quenched by the idea that, after enjoying it for a life-time, one must surrender a part of it to the community, while a part, perhaps the greater, goes to his dear ones. Should it even be true that this measure would somewhat check the tendency to trade and produce, this would happen only with very rich men, which would not be an unmixed evil. Very likely a part of their energy, which might thus be diverted from money-getting, would be turned to higher and worthier pursuits. But, even on the economic ground, this eventual diminution of industrial energy would be amply made up by the children who would be stimulated to greater exertion by the consciousness that only a share of the paternal estate would fall to them. A periodical return of a part of private wealth into the community's hands, would keep up a wholesome circulation of wealth which would better the whole social organism. It would prevent the accumulation of exaggerated wealth in the hands of few, which in course of time becomes not different from stagnation, and is, after all, a disadvantage and an evil for the owners themselves. An appropriation by the community of a share in the estate of a dead man would accomplish, without shock or crisis, that office which the jubilee

among the Jews aimed at. It would remove the embolism, grown out of excessive individualism, in the circulation of wealth, and let it flow more freely, more healthily, more beneficially than it does now.

XI. LABOR ORGANIZATIONS—SOCIALISM—PRI-VATE VIRTUE AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

TE have examined some of the greatest evils that afflict our social body, the land question, the competitive system, indirect taxation, and have considered some steps which would prove of the greatest utility to all members of society. Now the question arises, Who will carry out those measures? History teaches us that usually no class of citizens undertakes to carry out the welfare of another. In Rome there have been some patricians who stood with the Plebs and actually put themselves at the head of the movement for its economic and political redemption: but the patricians as a class were ever staunchly opposed to the interest of the Plebs. This fact repeats itself with every nation. The French peasants, however miserable and wretched their condition, could not have hoped for any substantial improvement from the good-will of their masters, the nobles. To-day there is no sign that the world is going to become at all different. The measures, of which we have spoken, being especially intended for the relief of the poorest classes, they must be carried through by the poorest, who are largely identified with the laboring classes. Not a few members of the wealthy classes, in which culture and humane sympathy overcome the voice of selfishness, will lend a hand to the movement; perhaps they will become the leaders of it. But speaking of classes at large, the measures especially intended for the benefit of the poor (though ultimately, like all just measures, they would turn out beneficial also to the wealthy) must be fought for and won by the poor. The laboring classes should be well convinced of this; and though ready to accept honest help from whatever quarter it comes, they should rely mainly on themselves.

How can they hope to carry through this or any other measure which the infirm state of our society claims peremptorily? In my judgment, only and solely through the ballot. Those who preach about the necessity of keeping labor out of politics, are like the Pharisees who shout that the government can not interfere with our economical system in any way. After all, can labor keep out of politics? In no way indeed except by not voting at all and making their political rights a dead letter. What is meant by the assertion that labor must keep out of politics, is that labor must go on voting for democratic or republican monopolists, as they have done thus far, and not bother the practical politicians with such nonsense as social questions, land reform, and such bogies.

Of late "labor" has begun to see the necessity of using to some purpose the immense power which the law has placed in its hands; but even from my first years of American life, it has always been to me a matter of astonishment how it could remain blind to this fact so long. I remember, one night, in the fall of 1884, I stood on a Fifth Avenue side-walk, watching a Blaine parade. was a grand affair, as all remember, and lasted not less than six hours. Column after column went by, dressed in military uniforms, shaking their helmets and torches, and shouting themselves hoarse with hurrahs for the party and their leader. Apparently, most of them were workingmen, and it was a mystery to me why they should be so enthusiastically obstreperous. Certainly no special interest of theirs was at stake in that election. Certainly neither of the candidates was standing up for the rectification of any of their wrongs. What did it matter to them whether the democratic candidate was elected or the republican? Had this any thing to do with the grievances of labor and its relations to capital? Was there any evidence that by the result of that election they would be less ground down than ever? No, indeed: their enthusiasm was the child of their ignorance, and a proof of that particular capacity for being hoodwinked which is one of the most striking characteristics of the uneducated or halfeducated people.

At last the toiling masses have got their eyes open, and this time, it seems, earnestly and for good. This they must strive to do: "to conquer political power." With this, in a democratic country, they have every thing; without this, nothing. Whether you form a part by yourselves, or you cast your ballot together with another party, know ye, toilers of the United States, that no power in this country is greater than yours, and wherever you throw the weight of your sword on that side the scales must drop. If you do not succeed in making your power felt, do not complain of any body or of any thing; accuse only your own imbecility, and learn. And be not afraid of defeat: defeat is sometimes more useful than a victory, if its lessons are fully and religiously heeded. Parties, as well as men, can only grow strong and steadfast through the fire of adversity. A party too soon successful is likely to become a full-grown small-headed egotistic baby, like the man who has achieved success too early in life.

In the accomplishment of any of these reforms, gradual development is of supreme necessity. I read pamphlets and papers in which a beautiful ideal is set forth to the workingman. "The realization of absolute equality of condition helped by the development of variety of capacity"—a state of things whose motto will be, "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs." Granted even that this can be done, and

will actually come to pass, by whom will it be carried through? None, not even the most ardent socialist can deny that, for such a condition of society, an education is required far superior to that of the average citizen of the present time; education, self-denial and altruism extremely developed. To talk about the feasibility of such schemes in our present society is the same as to pretend that the Patagonians can govern themselves with a constitutional monarchy or the code Napoleon. What we need is a kind of improvement which can be applied here, now, in our society as it is constituted. To this effect no better practical scheme can be devised than a large system of co-operation. It lifts up the material and the moral state of the community at once, and every step taken is an inducement and a help to another. The Knights of Labor and all other organizations should devote their best efforts to this task. In proportion as co-operation expands, the welfare of the workingman is improved, and another strong bond of common interest goes to tie their brotherhood closer and closer.

Another element, which is indispensable to victory, the workingmen should not forget. Nothing great and lasting is achieved without virtue and intelligence. Virtue and intelligence are strength, and whatever may happen in individual cases, in the great play of social forces they are sure to win. Our power over others is in direct

proportion with our power over ourselves. A child, a fool, a drunkard who have no power upon themselves, have no power upon others. Power upon ourselves we can only acquire through virtuous vigilance, through chasteness of mind and body, spiritual culture and temperance. Who can look at the endless array of saloons where the savings of workingmen are squandered, whence so many come out drunk or tipsy, without fearing that the time for great social reforms by and for the toiling masses is still far away? O workingmen, legislate unto yourselves that of ten salons nine must be closed, and of ten tobacco shops nine have to become bankrupt, and the triumph of your cause will be hastened by twenty years. I look at the American business men, as they walk along, briskly, with quick eyes, set lips, determined look, and think, what excellent soldiers capital has got! O soldiers of labor, remember, no lasting triumph has ever been conquered but by virtue and intelligence. Be severe to yourselves if you want to have the world just to you. This is the secret of true success in art, in literature, in politics, everywhere.

XII. CONCLUSION.

SHALL only add a few concluding remarks. We live in a time where there is a singular dearth of great political questions. One look at the civilized world is enough to convince us of this. The only remarkable exception is the Franco-German feud which not only governs the foreign relations of the two countries, but also shapes their domestic policies. Let us hope that this matter will be settled somehow, in a time not far off. With this exception, there is scarcely any great political problem which calls forth the energies of the people. The lines which divide the old political parties are becoming less and less distinct, partisan enthusiasm is flagging and droop-Every body feels that the old distinction between political parties have lost their significance. The consciousness is growing every day more definite with the people at large and political leaders, that something else is wanted, something more substantial and touching more directly the welfare of the people. Patriotism itself has lost some of its former asperity and exclusiveness.

Growing culture, increasing intercommunications, hard experience through blood and fire have taught the people the foolishness of hating each other and conspiring to their mutual perdition. In this respect it is only fair to say that America has distanced the rest of the world. If the day comes (and I for one perfervidly hope it will) when the European states shall acquiesce in a peaceful international policy, they must be thankful to America. This is the tendency of the present day, which is pervading also the new European democracy: to try all possible means in order to settle peacefully all international difficulties; to regard human lives as far too valuable to be thrown away for political pique or any ambitious military scheme; to devote, instead, all the nation's energies to the removal of those political and economical distresses at home which make the lives of the most a perpetual drudgery and a hopeless wretchedness. Thus are the poles of public life turned. In the beginning of this century, foreign wars, foreign jealousy, foreign intrigues, national supremacy, were the constant preoccupation of the people. Now, they are perfectly willing and glad that their neighbors shall develop their resources and grow rich and happy; nothing seems to touch them, nothing do they seem to care for, except what promotes their own true welfare. Home reform and progress, which once were almost looked down upon as a subject

unworthy of great statesmen, have become the foremost aspiration of the people, the press, and, in a measure, of the governments. It is this change of ideal which has slowly come upon the mass of the people, that makes the old political parties so uninteresting, and their divisions almost unintelligible to the younger generation. not the same thing that happens in America? What are the "principles" that separate republicans from democrats? In what do their platforms differ? If one can tell, he is indeed a very keensighted man. No great problem now offers itself to the American people except the peaceful development of their resources, and the regulation of the distribution of the results of labor so that each may have what he has earned; in other words, the enforcement of the fundamental principle of the American constitution, that each has a right to the peaceful pursuit of happiness, without his usefulness being maimed and his crop damaged or stolen under whatsoever form, name or pretext. A free people toiling harmoniously on a free soil, every body working and living on the product of his labor, not on the clippings of others' labor—this is the ideal of modern civilization. This is, in Goëthe's words, the highest "result of wisdom." this is the sum and the whole scope of his great poem. In a prophetic vision of such a state of justice and terrestrial happiness, Faust hails the moment which he would fain bid

delay, as it is so fair, and then, according to his compact with Mephistofeles, die.

"Below the hills a marshy plain Infests what I so long have been retrieving: This stagnant pool likewise to drain Were now my latest and my best achieving. To many millions let me furnish soil. Though not secure, yet free to active toil; Green, fertile fields, where men and herds go forth At once, with comfort, on the newest earth. And swiftly settled on the hill's firm base, Created by the bold, industrious race. A land like Paradise here, round about: Up to the brink the tide may roar without, And though it gnaw, to burst with force the limit,.. By common impulse all unite to hem it. Yes! to this thought I hold with firm persistence. The last result of wisdom stamps it true: He only earns his freedom and existence, Who daily conquers them anew. Thus here, by dangers girt, shall glide away Of childhood, manhood, age, the vigorous day. And such a throng I fain would see,-Stand on free soil among a people free! Then dared I hail the moment fleeing: "Ah, still delay-thou art so fair !"

It is pitiful blindness not to see that *this* is the ideal which sums up all the best tendencies of our civilization; *this* is the spirit that shapes it; the only light-house that beckons to its storm-tossed ship; the gleam of dawn, the harbor of peace.

A fuller realization of justice on earth; this is, in other words, the supreme goal of our society. Every thing, which does not tend directly to it, must be pushed aside or suppressed. In the march

to this goal, America, disentangled from much rubbish that hampers Europe, free from many drawbacks, blessed with superior opportunities, with a people intelligent to understand, eager to learn, capable of thinking-America should lead-"America holds the future." O. the world. let her not be deaf to the voice of her duty! Let her not come short of her great mission! After many centuries of strife, in which each nation tried to compel its neighbors to do justice to it; let at last a nation turn all its forces to have its own children do justice, full, irreproachable justice, to each other. In this new phase of our civilization, may this people find another great leader, a sage, a just man, a strong man, a good man, who will guide them wisely, unerringly, safely, to the goal. With this intention, as a comforting remembrance, as well as an augury, these pages are dedicated to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

THE END.



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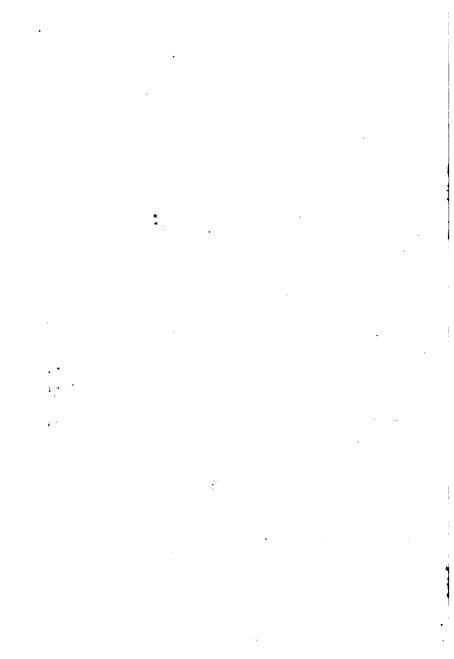
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